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ART. I. — *The Journals of each Provincial Congress of Massachusetts in* 1774 *and* 1775, *and of the Committee of Safety, with an Appendix, containing the Proceedings of the County Conventions; Narratives of the Events of the Nineteenth of April,* 1775; *Papers relating to Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and other Documents, illustrative of the early History of the American Revolution.* Published agreeably to a Resolve passed March 10th, 1837, under the Supervision of William Lincoln. Boston. Dutton and Wentworth, Printers to the State. 1838. 8vo. pp. 778.

THE administration of Governor Everett deserves honorable notice, not merely for the fidelity with which he discharged the responsible duties of his office, but for his suggestions concerning the preservation of documents relating to the colonial history of Massachusetts. In the year 1836, pursuant to the authority vested in him by the Legislature, he appointed William Brigham, Counsellor at Law, "Superintendent of the printing and publishing the Laws of the Old Colony." Before the close of that year, the work was completed in a manner which met the Governor's approbation. It is entitled "The Compact, with the Charter and Laws of the Colony of New Plymouth, together with the Charter of the Council at Plymouth; and an Appendix containing the articles of Confederation of the United Colonies of New England,

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and other valuable Documents." Fifteen hundred copies were printed in conformity to the vote of the Legislature; enough to perpetuate this portion of our political history, should the manuscripts, by any casualty, be lost or destroyed.

During the same year another undertaking was commenced, in which the Governor took a great interest; namely, the collection and arrangement of the papers in the public archives. These, being in manuscript often difficult to be deciphered, and not placed together either with a regard to chronological order, or to similarity of subjects, presented a chaotic mass, frightful to any but a bold and single-hearted antiquary. Such a one was found; and he has gone on, not only patiently, but joyously, save when his eyes remonstrated, until he has well nigh completed the gathering of these papers, — before scattered like the leaves of the Sibyls, — into large volumes securely bound, each containing kindred matters in chronological order, with full indexes.

In the year 1837, the Governor was authorized by the Legislature to procure the publication of the Journals of each Provincial Congress of Massachusetts. It was at his suggestion that measures were taken for accomplishing this work. Discretion was given to publish also such papers connected with the Journal, "as illustrated the patriotic exertions of the people of the State in the revolutionary contest." The undertaking was committed to a gentleman who was competent to perform it; and this is demonstrated by the fidelity, sound judgment, and skill, manifested in the work itself. It is not the work of a mere scribe, or a superintendent of the press. It is one which was encumbered with difficulties. Of the first Congress, which convened October 7th, 1774, and continued with some intervals to December 12th, nothing but the bare Journal remains. All the letters, petitions, and various documents have been lost. The Journal of the second Congress was mutilated before it was deposited in the public archives, and the records of the last eight days of the session, namely, from May 21st to May 29th, are missing. The Journal of the third Congress shows that the records of proceedings were made by the secretary with haste unavoidable under the embarrassment of his multiform duties.

Much, therefore, remained to be supplied by the Editor of the Journal, by means of diligent search. The fruits of his

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diligence are manifest in the completing of the Journals where they are defective, and in recovering and restoring many resolutions and papers from contemporary newspapers and publications, and other authentic sources. But the text of the original Journals, he informs us, has been carefully preserved, and the variations and additions are indicated. "Documents elucidating subjects of action or debate have been placed in connection with the proceedings of each Congress." The collecting of these, and giving them their appropriate places, must have been a severe part of his labor; for which we doubt not he will feel it to be some reward, if the public judge with us, that the value and interest of the work is increased in proportion to the pains thus successfully bestowed upon it.

We propose to explain briefly the occasion of the assembly of delegates who assumed the name "Provincial Congress," and to give some account of the doings of the successive bodies so denominated.

Almost at the beginning of the government of Massachusetts, the freemen, together with the Governor, Deputy Governor, and Assistants, were called "the General Court." This name was given in 1631, the year after Governor Winthrop, with the Deputy Governor and Assistants, arrived with the company by which they were appointed to those offices. In consequence of the increase of population no doubt, a change took place in the government in the year 1635, by which the freemen of the several towns elected representatives to the General Court, instead of assembling in a body. But the same name for the government has stood its ground; during the period of the original charter, under which the people of the colony chose their own governers; during the new charter of 1692, by which the governors were appointed by the King; and during the period which has passed since the adoption of the constitution, by which the "people agreed to form themselves into a free, sovereign, and independent body politic or state, by the name of The Commonwealth of Massachusetts."

The temporary existence of a Provincial Congress sprang from an emergency occasioned by the conflict between the Colony and the British Government. This conflict, however, was not the result of sudden provocation on the one

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part, or of feverish excitement on the other. It was a conflict between the pride of dominion in a government acknowledged to be supreme, and the consciousness of civil rights in the breasts of the governed. Ten years before the first Provincial Congress convened, the disputes between the people of Massachusetts and the Parliament of Great Britain had assumed a threatening aspect. At a much earlier period, indeed, it required no very minute observation to perceive the germ of revolution, or of essential change, in the political condition of the people. They were Englishmen of the sternest and most stout-hearted sort; they felt themselves to be Englishmen; they prayed fervently for their rights as such; prayer was followed by prophecy, which in due time was to be fulfilled. When poor and few in number, they submitted indeed to parliamentary enactments deemed oppressive, but not without remonstrance; always hoping and praying, often it may be believing, that the hearts of their rulers would be changed.

In process of time, after supplications had proved unavailing, or their petitions, if complied with, had been answered with such reservations as made the compliance of little value, they began to *assert* as rights and fundamental principles, what they had before *pleaded* for as common privileges of British subjects. During one of the sessions of the General Court in the year 1765, it was resolved unanimously by the House of Representatives, "That there are certain essential rights of the British constitution of government, which are founded in the law of God and nature, and are the common rights of mankind." Among these rights they placed the security of property, which cannot justly be taken from any man without his consent; and affirmed that on this principle is founded the right of representation in the same body which exercises the power of levying taxes. The power of levying direct or internal taxes, any taxes except reasonable imposts incident to the regulation of maritime commerce, they now denied, as had often been done before; and they concluded their resolutions with the solemn inference from reasons going before, "that all acts made by any power whatever, other than the General Assembly of this province, imposing taxes on the inhabitants, are infringements of our inherent and unalienable rights as men and as British subjects."

Here we have the great principle concerning which the

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Colony of Massachusetts and the British Parliament were at constant issue for ten years before hostilities commenced; to say nothing of the remonstrances of the colony against previous acts imposing taxes. The right to levy taxes at pleasure was never abandoned by Parliament, but was ungraciously avowed, even when its most odious acts were repealed. On the other hand, the right of Parliament to levy taxes in the colony, without the consent of the people by their representatives, was never acknowledged, even when that assumed right was exercised in its least offensive form. The representatives of the people claimed the exclusive power of internal taxation; they could tolerate a recommendation, and would sometimes comply with it; but when they chose, they prescribed their own conditions. Sometimes when they granted an excise or internal tax to his majesty, it was with the express reservation that it should be applied for the benefit of the Province.

Foiled in the attempt to raise a revenue by direct taxes, Parliament became exorbitant in its acts prescribing duties and imposts, securing to Great Britain the principal profits of trade, and oppressing the mercantile interests of the Colony. Hence rose the question of the right of Parliament to impose duties for the sole purpose of revenue; and though the right to regulate trade and the doctrine of the supremacy of Parliament were not denied, yet it was insisted upon, that there must be reasonable limits to that supremacy, and that, under pretence of the regulation of trade, it was not to be rendered worthless. Then came recommendations of a restrictive policy by the representatives of the Province, and non-importation agreements by the merchants, and non-consumption agreements by the people, as expedients for avoiding either forcible resistance or silent submission. Massachusetts, firm and settled as she was in her opinions, thought it time to seek for concert with other colonies in resisting oppression;—she sought and found it. She was the first colony, in the existing contest, attempted to be overawed by a military force stationed in her capital; but when called on to furnish companies from her own militia for manning forts, or for other purposes not exactly defined, or inexpedient, she claimed and exercised the right of judgment and decision in the case.

In the midst of all the matters of complaint on the part of the people of Massachusetts, some of which we have curso-

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rily noticed, no threats were mingled with remonstrances. The people and their representatives resolved that while they would not be slaves, they would maintain their ground in the calm spirit of freemen. In times of the greatest excitement they did not, by any public acts or resolutions, hint at the alternative of slavery or forcible resistance, while they expressed their determination, by all lawful means, to maintain their liberties as English subjects.

The embarrassment of the colonial governors, appointed as they were by the crown, and bound as well to sustain the measures of the ministry and Parliament as to promote the well-being of the people of the Colony, was, as may be supposed, truly severe. Yet we can easily conceive of men who might in that office have mediated with some success between the conflicting parties, a course wholly alien from the acts and speeches of Bernard, and Hutchinson, and Gage. As if any attempt to conciliate the people would sully the dignity or endanger the authority of the British Government, they erred grossly in the spirit of dictation, and in the imputation of bad motives and designs, by which their addresses to the representatives were generally characterized. These speeches were met by replies far from soothing to men jealous of their authority, and suspicious of the plans and measures, of those whom they addressed. The ability and pungency of these replies, and, above all, the profound views they contain of constitutional freedom, and the eloquent utterance they give of the resolution and determined will of the people to maintain that freedom, must secure them an exalted and enduring place in the annals of civil liberty.

The time was at hand when the contests between the governors and representatives of the Colony must put an end, for a season, to that form of government called the *General Court*. In September, 1774, precepts were issued by Governor Gage, requiring the several towns to return representatives to the General Court to be held at Salem on the coming 5th of October. But the resolutions passed by the people in county meetings, and the instructions given to the representatives by Boston and some other towns, relating to the disputes between the Colony and the British Government, near the time appointed for the session of the Court, were so adverse to the acts and claims of Parliament, as to induce the Governor to postpone indefinitely the meeting of the repre-

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sentatives. His proclamation to that effect was issued on the 28th of September, seven days before the time appointed for the meeting. The General Court had more than once been abruptly prorogued or dissolved, when measures were in progress which were disapproved by the Governor; but to discharge the representatives from the duty of assembling at the appointed time for which they were expressly elected, in obedience to the will of the chief executive magistrate, was a novelty. Some towns had made no choice, and some members failed to attend in consequence of the Governor's proclamation; still, ninety representatives met at Salem on the 5th of October. Finding that he adhered to the intention he declared in his proclamation, not to meet the General Court at the time appointed, and that no magistrate appeared who had authority to administer to them the oaths of office, they formed themselves into a Convention on the following day, of which John Hancock was chosen chairman, and Benjamin Lincoln clerk.

A committee was appointed to consider, and report upon the proclamation. The report was submitted on Friday, the succeeding day, and was accepted. After a preamble, stating the circumstances under which they had met, it was resolved, that the conduct of the Governor in preventing the meeting of the General Court "is against the express words as well as true sense and meaning of the Charter, and unconstitutional; more especially as by Charter his Excellency's power 'to adjourn, prorogue, and dissolve all great and General Courts' doth not take place after said courts shall be appointed, until they have first 'met and convened.'" The second resolution complains of the Governor for alleging that the "Province is in a tumultuous and disordered state," while, on the contrary, the people, even when the constitutional government is attempted to be superseded, and annulled by a military force, have "discovered the greatest aversion to disorder and tumult." The third resolution declares that the alleged cause of the Governor's proclamation is insufficient, and that this act "ought to be considered as a disrespectful treatment of the Province, and an opposition to that reconciliation between Great Britain and the colonies, so ardently wished for by all the friends of both." The resolution concludes with the expression of a conviction that the Governor's proclamation affords "a further proof not only of his Excellency's disaffection towards the Province, but of the

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necessity of its most vigorous and immediate exertions for preserving the freedom and constitution thereof."

It was then voted, "that the members do now resolve themselves into a Provincial Congress, to be joined by such other persons as have been or shall be chosen for that purpose, to take into consideration the dangerous and alarming situation of public affairs in this Province, and to consult and determine on such measures as they shall judge will tend to promote the true interest of his majesty, and the peace, welfare, and prosperity of the Province."

John Hancock was chosen chairman, and Benjamin Lincoln clerk, and the Congress was adjourned to Concord, to meet on Tuesday, October 11th. The vote by which they proceeded to the choice of a chairman and clerk was reconsidered on that day, and John Hancock was elected President, and Benjamin Lincoln Secretary.

The first act (October 13th) was a message addressed to Governor Gage, and sent by a large committee, stating those grievances which rendered it an imperious duty for the assembly then convened as delegates from the people, "to concert some adequate remedy for preventing impending ruin, and providing for the public safety." They appealed to the Governor, especially, whether it would not indicate "a state of insanity" to acquiesce in the hostile preparations making on Boston Neck, and entreated him "to remove that brand of contention, the fortress at the entrance of Boston." The Governor, in his reply, four days after the address was voted, treated the alarm of the inhabitants at the military preparations, as a thing of nought, and said that what they "call a fortress, unless annoyed, will annoy nobody." He concluded by warning them of the "rock they were upon," and required them "to desist from such illegal and unconstitutional proceedings." On the 20th of the same month, a replication to the Governor's answer to the address of the Congress was voted, containing nothing of supplication, and administering deserved rebuke to his Excellency for the "manifest insensibility and disregard" with which he had treated their "importunate applications."

In the following paragraph, we find a stronger expression of resentment, occasioned by the military preparations which threatened the peace of the Colony, than in any preceding public document.

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"It must be matter of grief to every true Briton, that the honor of British troops is sullied by the infamous errand on which they are sent to America; and whilst, in the unjust cause in which you are engaged, menaces will never produce submission from the people of this province, your Excellency, as well as the army, can only preserve your honor by refusing to submit to the most disgraceful prostitution of subserving plans so injurious and so notoriously iniquitous and cruel to this people."

A feeling approaching to a revolutionary spirit had been rapidly gaining strength, from the time that British troops were stationed in Boston, before the recall of Governor Bernard; at whose instigation it was then believed, and afterwards known, that they were sent. In town meetings of the citizens of Boston, it was condemned as violent and unconstitutional to quarter a standing army upon the citizens in time of peace. Instructions corresponding with this sentiment were given to the representatives. And when the representatives of the colony took their stand on the same ground, and besought the Governor to cause the troops to be removed to Castle Island, the irritation of the people was increased by the fact avowed by the Governor, that this standing army was not subordinate to the civil authority. In answer to all entreaties and complaints on this subject, he replied that he had no authority to interfere. It was not till after the insolence of the soldiers and the excitement of the people led to the affray which terminated in the death of several citizens, who were shot by the troops on the 5th of March, 1770, that any regard was paid to the expostulations of the people. The citizens of Boston then determined that they would not cease from their importunities, until the troops were removed. And though Governor Bernard had declined all action in the matter, for want of authority, the Lieutenant Governor, Hutchinson, (Bernard having now returned to England,) found that a way could be invented to cause that to be done, which he could not do himself. The troops were accordingly removed, for the time being, to Castle Island.

But, returning to the grievance of a standing army in time of peace, as viewed by the Provincial Congress, and their justification of their proceedings, as the representatives of the people, — we cannot forbear to present a passage from the

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closing paragraph of their "replication" to the answer of Governor Gage to their address.

"The power placed in your Excellency, for the good of the province, to convene, adjourn, prorogue, and dissolve the General Court, has been perverted to ruin and enslave the province; while our constituents, the loyal subjects of his Majesty, have been compelled, for the laudable purpose of preserving the constitution and therein their freedom, to obtain the wisdom of the province in a way which is not only justifiable by reason, but, under the present exigencies of the state, directed by the principles of the constitution itself, warranted by the most approved precedent and examples, and sanctioned by the British nation at the revolution; upon the strength and validity of which precedent the whole British constitution now stands, his present Majesty wears his crown, and all subordinate officers hold their places."

The revolutionary ground is here firmly taken. It had been taken before less strenuously. It was taken virtually on all those occasions in which the representatives, without calling in question the supremacy of the Parliament, denied their authority to do a manifest wrong; to pass acts oppressive to British subjects, who, though colonists, felt and claimed their right to equal privileges with the rest; to tyrannize over them in any way inconsistent with their charter or the British constitution. Hence it was that they so often made such clear distinctions between the legitimate exercise of power and its abuse, and pleaded unanswerably their natural and unalienable rights, no less than their constitutional rights. As it had become impossible that the operations of the colonial government could any longer go on under its existing organization, the delegates of the people, in forming themselves into a Congress independent of executive power, were fully conscious that it might be regarded as a revolutionary measure, and did not shun the responsibility of an issue on that ground. They already regarded the army placed at the capital, which had been the means of keeping them so long from assembling in their legislative hall, as an enemy, though they had not yet branded it with that name. But all action in respect to military preparation, and all precaution for husbanding the means of the Colony, like all the previous war of words, were merely defensive. As yet they did not lisp the word independence, however often it must have been that

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men of such wisdom and foresight could not fail to perceive that the final issue must be independence or submission.

The next day after their first address to the Governor, Congress passed a resolution, advising all collectors of taxes, and officers having "county moneys" or "province moneys" in their hands, not to pay them to Harrison Gray, the provincial treasurer, but that the collectors of taxes should observe such directions as should be given them by the several towns and districts by which they were chosen, and that officers, having province moneys in their hands, should retain them until the further advice of a provincial congress, or order from a constitutional assembly of the Province.

After this resolution was passed, on the eighth day of the session, Congress was adjourned to meet at Cambridge on the following Monday, October 17th. It was then that they received the answer of General Gage to the address of which we have spoken.

Next to the precautions taken to guard the money from passing into the adversary's fingers, they proceeded to choose a committee to inquire minutely into the state and operations of the army, and a committee to consider what was necessary to be now done for the defence and safety of the Province. These committees were composed chiefly of military men, as well they might be; for captains, majors, and colonels are the *prænomens* of a large portion of the members whose names appear in the record. Thus, for instance, "Captain Heath, Major Fellows, Colonel Thomas, Captain Gardner, and Colonel Pomeroy" constituted the first of the above-named committees. No less scrupulously does the record perpetuate the titles of Esquire and Deacon, all which, in these degenerate times, are merged in the common address of Mr., in the journals of our deliberative assemblies. We shall speak presently of the results to which these committees were led. In the mean time Congress was busily at work on various matters. Among the grievances of the Colony which excited great disaffection, was the appointment of counsellors by the King, in conformity to an act of Parliament changing the form of government, and violating the charter. Counsellors chosen by the representatives had often been set aside by the Governor's negative. This, though vexatious and matter of complaint, was tolerated. But the *mandamus* counsellors, as they were called, were looked upon by the

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leading politicians with utter abhorrence. Congress having no authority but what was derived from influence on public opinion, or consonance with it, were not parsimonious in terms of reproach intended to nullify the authority of these unconstitutional advisers of the military governor. After a preamble, in which the acceptance of the appointment is pronounced to be detestable and disgraceful, it was resolved that the persons who had accepted the appointment "who shall not give satisfaction to this injured Province and continent, within ten days from the publication of this resolve, by causing to be published in all the Boston newspapers acknowledgments of their former misconduct, and renunciations of the commissions and authority mentioned, ought to be considered as infamous betrayers of their country." The names of those who should fail so to do, it was resolved, should be repeatedly published, "that the inhabitants of this Province, by having them entered on the records of each town as rebels against the state, may send them down to posterity with the infamy they deserve, and that other parts of America may have an opportunity of stigmatizing them in such way as shall effectually answer a similar purpose." It was further resolved, "that it be recommended to the people so far to forgive the obnoxious persons who shall have given the satisfaction required, as not to molest them for their misconduct."

These resolutions may appear vindictive; but it must be considered that the object was not personal revenge, but an expression of uncompromising hostility to the office, — an office intended to second the operations of despotic power. Aware that they were not authorized to enforce their acts by pains and penalties, Congress sought the sanction of public opinion to give efficacy to their proceedings, and appealed to moral and patriotic feelings for producing mutual sympathy and energy of operation.

The malediction against a persevering *mandamus* counsellor, therefore, may be regarded as a figure of speech, in which the officer is put for the office. Somewhat akin to this is the resolution soon after passed, denouncing *tea*, which, it will be perceived, is a little peculiar in its phraseology.

"Resolved, that this Congress do earnestly recommend to the people of this province an abhorrence and detestation of all kinds of East India teas, as the baneful vehicle of a corrupt

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and venal administration, for the purpose of introducing despotism and slavery into this once happy country, and that every individual in this province ought totally to disuse the same."

Now, there were probably very few of the good patriots of that time, men or women either, who felt any abhorrence of tea, as such, and it became hateful only from the revolting associations which the naming or using of it brought into the mind. A *mandamus* counsellor might be a pleasant and refreshing companion, as pleasant and refreshing in common fellowship as tea is wont to be as a social beverage; but the counsellor, regarded as a political assassin, and the tea as a poison of the body politic, were alike detestable.

We come now to the measures adopted for the defence of the Colony. The report of a committee previously appointed "to take into consideration what quantity of powder and ordnance stores are now necessary for the Province stock, and estimate the expense of the same," reported in detail on the 25th of October, when the report was accepted. The estimated expense was nearly twenty-one thousand pounds; no small sum, at that time, for the beginning of military operations.

On the 26th of the same month, the committee before appointed "to consider what is necessary to be done for the defence and safety of the Province," made a report, which was accepted almost unanimously. The preamble sets forth the outrages of General Gage, particularly that of fortifying the capital against the country, seizing large quantities of ammunition in the arsenal at Boston, and committing to the custody of his troops, the arms, ammunition, ordnance, and warlike stores of all sorts provided for the use of the Province; at the same time disregarding the assurance given by Congress of the pacific disposition of the people of the Province. The preamble also disclaims the intention of any offensive measures, adding, that Congress "will consider and treat all measures tending to prevent a reconciliation between Britain and the colonies as the highest degree of enmity to the Province." Still, as a point of prudence and self-defence against threatening evils, it was resolved, that a Committee of Safety be appointed, in order to watch for any movements that might be made to the injury of the Province, and clothed with authority to call out such portion of the militia as they should think necessary, in case the call should be required for the safety

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and defence of the inhabitants. A thorough organization of the militia, and constant readiness for duty on the part of officers and soldiers, were earnestly recommended. The Congress then proceeded to choose commissaries and general officers. For "the chief command, Honorable Jedidiah Preble, Esquire, was chosen;" for the "second in command, Honorable Artemas Ward, Esquire;" for "the third in command, Colonel Pomeroy." A committee was appointed to sit in the recess, with instructions to prepare a plan for the most effectual regulation and discipline of the militia, with reference to the defence of the Province.

To carry into effect the recommendation formerly voted, — namely, that the taxes and provincial moneys not already paid to Harrison Gray, the treasurer of the province, should be withheld, — a Receiver-General was chosen. Honorable Samuel Dexter was elected, and being excused from serving, for reasons assigned by him, Henry Gardner, Esquire, was chosen.

Resolutions were passed approving of the "non-importation and non-consumption agreements" entered into by the greatest part of the inhabitants, and recommending it to the people to refuse to purchase any articles of those sordid merchants who continued to import goods as heretofore. Such parts of the various proceedings as were important for public information, or for their influence on public opinion and conduct, and not requiring secrecy, were from time to time ordered to be printed. After a session of twenty-three days, begun at Salem, adjourned to Concord, and then to Cambridge, the Congress adjourned on the 29th of October, to meet again at Cambridge on the 23d of November. Previous to the adjournment, the Committee of Safety, who were to sit during the interval, were desired to write to the Continental Congress, showing the grounds and reasons of the proceedings of the Provincial Congress, and to enclose a copy of its votes and resolutions.

After the Congress reassembled, they devoted themselves as before, with great constancy, to their important work. A committee was appointed to correspond diligently with Montreal and Quebec, in order to obtain information of movements in Canada. Resolutions were passed expressing thanks to the colonies which had by donations assisted the inhabitants of Boston, and further measures were adopted for their

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relief. A delegation was chosen "to represent the Province at an American Congress to be held at Philadelphia" in May following. The persons chosen were John Hancock, Thomas Cushing, Samuel Adams, John Adams, and Robert Treat Paine; the same gentlemen (substituting John Hancock for James Bowdoin) who were elected by the House of Representatives in June of the same year, for the Continental Congress, whose session had closed October 26th.

On the 5th of December, resolutions were passed by the Provincial Congress approving the doings of the General Congress, — such as the "American Bill of Rights," the exposition of the "ruinous and iniquitous measures, which, in violation of their rights, at present convulse and threaten destruction to America," and "the judicious plans adopted for defeating them;" and expressing grateful acknowledgments to "the truly honorable and patriotic members of the Continental Congress, for their wise and able exertions in the cause of American liberty." It was the purpose of these resolutions to strengthen the hands of the General Congress by the only sanction which made their proceedings valid, namely, public opinion. Another means to promote the same end was an address to "all the ministers of the gospel in the province;" in which address the Congress recommend to them to assist in averting slavery, "by advising the people of their several congregations" to abide by the resolutions of the Continental Congress, "as the most peaceable and probable method of preventing confusion and bloodshed, and of restoring harmony between Great Britain and the colonies."

Public attention was called to the importance of agriculture, domestic manufactures, and economy, with considerable minuteness in the resolutions that were passed. The recommendations contained in these resolutions had regard to subsistence and defence, and were prompted by the wise desire of rendering the Province as independent as possible of foreign countries, and especially of England. For the purpose of carrying these resolutions into effect, it was recommended that associations should be formed for introducing such arts and manufactures as could not be established by individual effort. At the same time, the people were exhorted to give the preference to colonial manufactures over those of other countries.

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Among the last acts of this Provincial Congress, was the adoption of an Address to the People, reported by the committee on the state of the Province. It is temperate and dignified. If the wise men from whom it proceeded used fewer expressions of loyalty than on some former occasions, they still professed to have "confidence in the wisdom, justice, and goodness of the sovereign, as well as the integrity, humanity, and good sense of the nation;" believing that the royal ear had been abused, and the nation led astray by falsehood and calumnies proceeding from the malignant enemies of the Colony. Aware of all the difficulties of the Province and its miserable preparations for defence, with the true moral sublimity of men bearing up under burdens which threaten every moment to sink them, they averred, "with the utmost cheerfulness," their "determination to stand or fall with the liberties of America." In correspondence with this spirit they exhorted the people to prepare for the dangers which threatened them, and to comply with the provisions for military defence already recommended by the acts of the assembly.

The whole period of the sessions of this Congress, whose journal is filled with many important records, besides those of which we have given an imperfect outline, was but forty-one days. Having exceeded, as that assembly supposed, the time which the people thought would be necessary for the continuance of the session, it was voted on the 10th of December, 1774, after the passage of a resolution recommending to the towns and districts to choose delegates to represent them in a Provincial Congress, to be held at Cambridge, on the first day of February next ensuing, that this Congress be dissolved.

A very large proportion of the members who composed the first Congress, were returned to the second. John Hancock was again chosen President, and Benjamin Lincoln Secretary. The same calmness and energy of action which marked the proceedings of the former Congress, were manifested in this. Many of the acts then passed were revised and matured. The duties of the Committee of Safety were prescribed more specifically, their powers were increased, and motives were presented to the militia and the body of the people, and urged upon them, to insure their compliance with the requisitions of the Committee. It was made the

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duty of the general officers, with their subalterns, and so many of the militia as might be required by that committee to assemble, "effectually to oppose and resist such attempts as shall be made for carrying into execution, by force, an act of the British Parliament, entitled 'an Act for the better regulating the Government of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay, in New England.'" The "inhabitants of Massachusetts Bay" were again addressed as "friends and fellow-sufferers," instructed in their rights and duties, warned of their dangers, and exhorted to adhere, as they hitherto had done, to the resolutions of the general and the provincial Congress, whose acts are founded on the authority delegated by the people. Strong appeals were made to the patriotic feelings of the militia, on the principle of self-defence, exhorting them to be in constant readiness to meet any attempt that might be made to attack them by surprise. Encouragements were offered for the manufacture of materials and implements of war. Committees of Correspondence were chosen to communicate with other colonies, in order to insure unity of feeling and action.

In the progress of the session it was deemed necessary to go beyond mere exhortations for securing sufficient aid from the militia for self-defence; and accordingly a series of "Rules and Regulations for the Massachusetts Army" was reported by a committee chosen for that purpose, and adopted. Besides what pertains solely to military discipline, to the relative powers and duties of officers and soldiers, to the extent and limitations of authority prescribed for the officers, and the corresponding laws of obedience laid down for the direction of privates, the regulations extended also to their moral and religious duties; to their attendance at religious worship; to the prohibition of profane swearing, of quarrels and frays, and of duels, which were made penal offences, the penalty being left to the discretion of a court-martial.

In the adoption of these rules and regulations the voice of authority comes in place of entreaty. By the choice of delegates to a second Congress, the people had virtually reposed in them all the power that the exigencies of the times demanded. Delegates were appointed to report to Connecticut, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire, to inform the authorities of those colonies of the preparations making in Massachusetts for raising and establishing an army. County

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Committees were chosen, whose duty it should be to meet at stated times, and ascertain from the Committees of Correspondence of the several towns, whether they had executed the measures adopted by Congress for preserving the liberties of the country.

On the 15th of April, 1775, the Provincial Congress adjourned to the 10th of May following. On the 19th of April, in the same year, the march of the British troops to Concord took place, the fatal consequences of which are well known. But on the day previous to this, a committee of Congress, constituted of members in several of the towns nearest to Boston, and clothed with discretionary power to call a meeting of that body before the 10th of May, sent messengers with a request for the immediate attendance of the members. This call was occasioned by intelligence received of a reinforcement of British troops having sailed, and by "the preparation making by the troops in Boston for a march into the country."

Congress met at Concord on the 22d of April, and adjourned to Watertown. On the afternoon of the same day, "Mr. Gerry, Colonel Cushing, Colonel Barrett, Captain Stone, Doctor Taylor, Mr. Sullivan, Mr. Freeman, Mr. Watson, and Esquire Dix," were chosen "a committee to take depositions *in perpetuam*, from which a full account of the transactions of the troops under General Gage, in their route to and from Concord, &c., may be collected, to be sent to England by the first ship from Salem." Dr. Church, Mr. Gerry, and Mr. Cushing were appointed a committee to draw up a narrative of the massacre at Lexington. The depositions taken established the important fact, that the British troops, besides making the first hostile movement, committed the first fatal act of hostility, by which eight men were killed and several wounded, on the plain of Lexington. An account of this "tragedy" was immediately sent to Dr. Franklin, the agent of the colonies at London, together with an address to the "Inhabitants of Great Britain," who were invoked, as "friends and fellow subjects," to think upon the wrongs inflicted on the Colony, to afford their sympathy, and lend their aid in changing the counsels of the nation. In this address the Congress still affirm that they are loyal and dutiful subjects of their royal sovereign;" but, they add, "to the persecution and tyranny of his cruel minis-

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try we will not tamely submit. Appealing to Heaven for the justice of our cause, we determine to die or be free." The agent was requested to give the utmost possible publicity to this address, and to the other papers transmitted to him; thus furnishing evidence of their consistency, and affording proofs of what the people by their representatives had always professed and practised upon, — namely, that their measures and modes of resistance to oppression were wholly defensive.

The next day after the Congress reassembled, — Sunday, April 23d, — it was resolved, that it was necessary that an army of thirty thousand men should be raised immediately, for the defence of the colony; and that thirteen thousand should be raised immediately by the Province of Massachusetts. It is sufficient to add, that the principal business now consisted in provision for defence. The resources of Massachusetts in men and money, and the various instruments and materials and supplies of war, claimed the principal attention of the assembly, and to those things their inquiries and acts were chiefly confined. The assistance of the other New England states was sought, and a ready coöperation took place. Early in May, after the Continental Congress were assembled, the Provincial Congress communicated their doings to that body, praying for approbation as well as for direction and assistance. To prevent the "enemies to the rights of mankind and the interest of America," or, in shorter language, the *tories*, as they were popularly called, from thwarting the general will, it was recommended to the authorities of the towns, that all such enemies to the country should be disarmed, and that no inhabitants, preparing to move their goods to Nova Scotia or elsewhere, in order to avoid the burdens incurred for the defence of the Province, should be permitted to convey them without authority from the Committee of Correspondence or the Selectmen of the town. No countenance was given to injurious assaults on their persons or property.

In the course of the session, the Continental Congress was again addressed with particular reference to the government of the Colony. Compelled to raise an army for its defence, and holding it to be a fundamental principle in free governments that the sword should be subject to the civil power, the Provincial Congress prayed for advice respecting the institution of a local government, on such a plan as should best promote the interests of Massachusetts and the general good of the

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colonies. A resolution in answer to this request was passed by the Continental Congress, June 9th, after the third Provincial Congress had met, in which it is declared that no obedience is due to the act of Parliament altering the Charter of Massachusetts, or to the governor acting under it; that "the Governor and Lieutenant-Governor are to be considered as absent, and their offices vacant;" that in the existing state of the Colony it is best that representatives should be chosen by the towns, in obedience to a precept issued by the Provincial Congress; that the representatives so chosen should elect counsellors; "which assembly and council shall exercise the powers of government, until a governor of his Majesty's appointment will consent to govern the colony according to its charter."

We have said that injurious assaults on the persons or property of the internal enemies of the Colony were not countenanced by the Provincial Congress. This, though true in its most obvious import, may need some qualification; for, as the revolutionary spirit waxed warmer, they declared those who are inimical to the colony, among whom they named by way of eminence the *mandamus* counsellors, to be so odious, that "every friend to mankind ought to forsake and detest them, until they shall give evidence of sincere repentance;" and not only so, but they decreed that "no person within the colony shall take any deed, lease, or conveyance whatever of the lands, houses, or estates of such persons." But no encouragement was given for personal violence, such as was sometimes indulged by a portion of the people.

Among the important acts of this session was the issuing of paper money, in notes of various denominations, payable in one year, with interest at the treasury, and receivable at the treasury for all payments. They were also declared to be a legal tender. The ultimate results of the paper-money system, without any substantial basis, is well known. The notes of which we here speak were issued for the advance payments of the army, the whole sum not to exceed twenty-six thousand pounds. Towards the close of the session, it was announced in an address of Congress to the inhabitants, that subscriptions were opened for a loan of one hundred thousand pounds, for which the treasurer was authorized to issue notes payable with interest, at six per cent. per annum, in two years; and all who had means were earnestly entreated to lend

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their money for the defence of the Province, in default of which, they might not only lose their property but their liberties.

The second Congress was dissolved on the 29th of May, and the third assembled on the 31st of the same month, in 1775, at Watertown. The Honorable Joseph Warren was chosen President, and Samuel Freeman, Secretary.

Besides the details of business relating to the defence of the Province, measures were adopted for conciliating the Indians of various tribes, and for acting in concert with the other New England colonies for mutual protection by military force. On the 12th of June, General Gage issued a flaming proclamation, declaring the Province to be in a state of rebellion, and offering, in his Majesty's name, pardon to all who should lay down their arms and become peaceful subjects; "excepting only from the benefits of such pardon SAMUEL ADAMS and JOHN HANCOCK, whose offences are of too flagitious a nature to admit of any other consideration than that of condign punishment." After proclaiming "law martial," since it had become impracticable to administer the law of the land, he promised, in his peroration, lasting benefits to all who should manifest their allegiance to their king. On the 16th of June, a proclamation was prepared and accepted by Congress, and ordered to be printed and published through the Colony, in which they state the steps taken by the Colony in defence against agression, and in their turn declare all persons who shall give any aid or relief, or hold any communication with General Gage, Admiral Graves, or the army or navy &c., "to be enemies and traitors to their country, and that they shall be treated as such." Pardon was offered to all "offenders against the rights and liberties of the country, excepting only Thomas Gage, Samuel Graves, those counsellors who were appointed by *mandamus* and have not signified their resignation, and all the natives of America, not belonging to the navy or army, who went out with the regular troops on the nineteenth of April last, and were countenancing, aiding, and assisting them in the robberies and murders then committed; whose offences are of too flagitious a nature to admit of any other consideration than that of condign punishment."

The battle of Bunker Hill took place on the next day, consequently before this proclamation could have been published. The day following the battle, — Sunday, — it was ordered "that the records and papers of the Provincial Congress be

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secured by the Secretary, and that the committee of supplies procure a horse for the Secretary, to be ready for any emergency." No direct notice of the battle appears in the journal of that day. On the morning of the 19th, it was resolved "that three o'clock, P. M., be assigned for the choice of a president of this Congress in the room of the Honorable Joseph Warren, supposed to be killed in the late battle of Bunker Hill." The Honorable James Warren was elected. A summary account of the battle, as reported by a committee chosen for the purpose, was adopted on the same day, to be communicated to the Continental Congress.

A resolution was passed on the 26th of June, for a respectful reception of General Washington, who had been appointed Commander-in-chief of the American forces; and of General Lee. After they arrived, they were respectively addressed by Congress on the first day of July, and appropriate replies were made by them. A committee had been appointed to receive them at Springfield, and escorts provided at that place to their head-quarters at Cambridge. The whole business was conducted with great simplicity and economy, and the expenses amounted to twenty-eight pounds, five shillings and ten pence, lawful money.

The business of the session was brought to a close on the 13th of July, at which time the assembly adjourned to the 19th. Letters had been previously sent to the several towns, requesting them to return representatives, "to serve in a great or general court, or assembly, to be held at Watertown on the last-named day." But during the six days' recess of Congress, it was thought prudent to authorize the Committee of Safety, on any day before that term should expire, to summon, if necessary, forty at least of the members of the body who could be most expeditiously assembled. No call being made, the assembly came together on the 19th of July, when the Congress was dissolved.

The records of this session fill two hundred and twenty-two closely printed pages in large octavo, and the matters recorded are chiefly minute details of business relating to the organizing, equipping, and supplying of the army. It is impossible, without going further into this detail than our limits will allow, to convey to our readers an adequate idea of the embarrassments and perplexities by which this assembly was met at every turn. It was composed, indeed, of the representatives

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of the people, but without instructions, and without constitutional limits to mark the boundaries of their authority. The highest penalty they could inflict was that of consigning over the offender to popular indignation, which in times of excitement might degenerate into popular violence, however much it was discountenanced. The very absence of civil government tended to lawless trespasses, and in some parts of the Colony there were strong symptoms of degeneracy. Every appeal to public opinion and feeling was intended to be an appeal to the virtue and patriotism of the people. Such an appeal, in almost any other community, would have been a feeble sanction of the laws. Here, though sometimes abused, it was a powerful sanction, and the degree of its success was wonderful. Nothing but the determination of the people to sacrifice, if need were, their lives and fortunes in the cause of freedom, a determination so often reiterated, by their representatives, could have enabled those, who acted under responsibility, so steadily to look devastation and death in the face. Without a constitutional government, with no revenues, with no power to pledge the faith of those who, under another form of administration of public affairs, might come after them, every recommendation or decree proceeding from a body acting with undefined authority, was a matter of voluntary observance, except when the timid were made to submit to the resolute, and the dissenting few were overawed by the zeal of the many.

To the want of money was added the want of the instruments and materials of war. Guns without bayonets or powder, were no better than clubs ; and such was the deficiency of powder, that, after ascertaining the quantity in the several towns, it required all the ingenuity of Congress to apportion it so as to do justice to the inhabitants of different parts of the Colony, exposed to invasion. The frugality required for its preservation was manifested in the orders given by the Congress to General Ward, commander-in-chief of the Massachusetts forces, concerning his reception of Washington ; namely, that every thing should be done that was required by military respect, "without, however, any expense of powder." An example of the ingenuity of this Congress in increasing weapons of defence, which we adduce in this connexion, would be amusing, were it not for the gravity of the subject. On the 24th of June, a week after the battle of

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Bunker Hill, "Colonel Porter was appointed to procure a scythe, and carry it to a blacksmith to be fixed for a spear in such a manner as he thinks fit, and bring it before this Congress when fixed;" thus inverting the description of that happy prophetic period, when spears shall be turned into pruning-hooks.

We have much exceeded the length to which we expected to extend our account of the doings of the Provincial Congresses; and we have found it a more difficult undertaking to make such a use of the massy materials as we intended, than it was foreseen to be. Though our business has been mainly with facts, we could not have failed to show our sympathy with the patriots of the revolution in the Colony of Massachusetts, even had a period of twenty generations passed, instead of two. It is not that we look with complacency upon civil war, or war between independent nations: they are both among the abominations which our soul hateth. In civil contests, however, there are impediments to the adjustment of matters in controversy, which do not exist in regard to disputes between nations. Those who form the aggrieved party make known their real or supposed injuries as petitioners and suppliants. The authority to which they appeal, claims to be the sole judge of right; the submission to an arbiter of a dispute between the sovereign and his subjects is a measure foreign to the relations of the parties. The sovereign parts with no portion of his power without grudging; and what is obtained from him, being in a manner extorted, is usually just enough to allay present discontent. Nothing of prerogative being yielded, it is retained to be exercised in another form equally hateful or oppressive. Such was the mistaken policy of the British sovereign in regard to Massachusetts and her sister colonies. The people of Massachusetts were peaceably disposed, as well as patriotic and religious. They stood for their rights as British subjects, and no other; their patriotism was the patriotism of British subjects, and no other, until they were alienated by denial of justice. Their patriotism was sanctified by religion. They were in prayers oft, and in fastings oft, under a full faith in divine providence. The people were drawn by the force of circumstances, into a defensive war, which they dreaded for its foreseen disastrous consequences. We say, the people; for with them rested the decision between unqualified submission and forcible resist-

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ance. As confident as we are that war can be avoided, and will more and more be avoided, in the world, as governments become more firmly fixed on constitutional principles and equality of popular representation, we cannot find an application of any such casuistry to the war of defence on the part of Massachusetts and the colonies; believing that to the distinguished patriots who carried out the will of the people in their struggle for civil liberty, it was not permitted, in faithfulness to their trust and their consciences, to avoid an issue destined to form such a remarkable era in the history of nations.

ART. II. — *The Builder's Guide, illustrated by Sixty-six Engravings, which exhibit the Orders of Architecture, and other Elements of the Art; designed for the Use of Builders, particularly of Carpenters and Joiners.* By ASHER BENJAMIN, Architect, Author of "The American Builder's Companion," "The Rudiments of Architecture," &c. &c. Third Edition. Boston. Perkins & Marvin. 4to. pp. 83.

THIS work is a treatise upon certain branches of architecture suited to the wants of builders and mechanics, and especially of such as cannot consult with an architect. It is full of hints to those unacquainted with the science of construction, and of excellent designs for those who have not known and cultivated it as an elegant art. The first part of the book is occupied with descriptions and drawings of the Etruscan and the Grecian orders, the measurements and proportions of which are taken from the most approved models; the succeeding part gives directions and designs for rooms, windows, doors, fireplaces, cornices, porticoes, balconies, and all the other constituent parts of our domestic architecture; and remarks on the subject of carpentry conclude the treatise. It is executed with exemplary suitableness to its object. The text is clear and simple in its style, and the illustrations are quite as neat and beautiful as those of any similar European work. It is, perhaps, a little too brief; especially in its instructions and admonitions to young mechanics. Such experience as that of the author, might be made of great advan-

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tage to them, in pointing out the way to the accomplishments of their trade, and preparing them to acknowledge and be guided by the true standards of taste. As much appears to be done to this end in the present work, we cannot but wish for more, in the same fair style and excellent spirit.

That a work so expensive as this, should have passed through three editions, is an excellent sign. It shows an eagerness for the study of construction, for which American mechanics hardly have credit, and which must be eventually evidenced in buildings throughout the country. It is a little surprising, that they have not more taste and knowledge of architecture. It would very much increase the profit and interest of their occupation. But the fault partly lies with those, who have the requisite knowledge and ability to instruct them. They are as eager for light upon this subject as upon any other, as is shown by the welcome given to such a work as Mr. Benjamin's. We hope that he and other architects will look upon this reception of his book as an indication of a want, and furnish the public with other works of more copious instruction. The field for good influence is very wide, the subject is new, and all portions of the community are in need of knowledge.

In turning over the pages of this work, we were led into some reflections upon subjects of rather recent, but certainly curious interest. We merely break ground upon them, aiming at no more than to open the surface.

Speculations upon the character and developement of our times, in all their features and complexions, are now so common, that the subject seems fathomed. Its necessary phraseology is wearisome and trite, and has introduced us to it, in all its lights and bearings, until a child talks with fluency upon great truths, which lay dim in the distance to the mental sight of a Bacon or a Burleigh. We should not approach this venerable tree of universal knowledge, if we did not fancy we saw upon it one green sprout, just budding forth, still young and tender, promising to blossom and bear great fruit, if untimely blasts do not injure it. Hitherto, to speak of American Art, was to speak of a thing hardly in existence. But the greatly increased number of American artists within the last few years, the awakened public interest concerning them, and the magnitude and character of many of the subjects of their late works, authorize us to hail the genuine birth of the young

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spirit among us, and to crown it with the laurel of prospective fame.

It will be useless, perhaps, to inquire, why we Americans have been so long without a school of art. But an obvious reason appears in the necessity for the developement of the physical resources of the country, for reducing lands to cultivation, for building towns, opening communications, bringing, in fact, our continent into a habitable state for civilized man. The time, expense, and labor, bestowed upon this object, are enormous, and bear a comparison with the industrious efforts of any European country. We have changed the outward features of a quarter of the globe. Barren forests are turned into waving grain; mighty rivers, formerly navigated but by the solitary canoe, have become the common highways of a numerous people; roads connect points at vast distances; and cities and towns have been sown over the wilderness. Infant Rome, with her battles and her colonies, her public works, her aqueducts and temples, did not achieve greater things than these, nor the great historical wars of a Philip or Cæsar, with their hosts of armed men, effect so much as the same number of men in this country, at war, not with transient human opposition, but with the eternal and intrinsic obstacles of Nature. We have for the last two centuries been preparing the land for a national habitation; and rapid has been the preparation, though still the limits of our industry and ability were hemmed in by the necessities of the work. But does it follow from this, that we are incapable of every other? and that, as for a few generations we have been the pioneers of civilization, our ambition and progress will be limited to this task? Rather from this time will the elder part of our people make similar progress in all that makes and honors a civilized nation, in science, in literature, in philosophy, in *art*. It is on this broad basis, built by the brawny strength of our ancestors, that we are now to rear the lasting fabric of a moral, intellectual, and national character.

The adaptation and utility of Art to us Americans may be strongly urged upon the broad grounds, of our want of occupation for our leisure hours; of our deficiency in subjects of elegant cultivation, affording occupation to the class of non-working men in the old world, a class, which though as yet by no means abundant, must spring up with our increased wealth, and

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greater subdivision of labor; of their counteracting the overworked, business, anxious character of our community; of their diffusing elegant enjoyment and real refinement over the few leisure moments of each day, and giving employment to those born to fortune, as well as to those, who, having acquired it, still labor on in the acquisition, for the want of better pursuits, even when the most exorbitant wishes for wealth have been long satisfied. We are almost without the means of amusement and wholesome recreation, and the want glares upon us in the frequency of diseases, originating in or brought out by, mental over-excitement and labor; in our too serious temper and manner; in the thoughtful expression of countenance, and in the total absence of hilarity and jovialness, in which the American of the Eastern States departs so widely from his ancestral English character. Where can we innocently quench the rational thirst of the mind for recreation, separated from application, and of the body for rest, stimulated by enjoyment, which strengthens, not exhausts, but in the cultivation of the exhilarating, inspiring arts?

During all periods, and among all nations, have they answered this purpose; both when they have sprung up the natural product of the character, genius, and climate, and when, as exotics, they have been introduced by conquest or wealth, to fill the vacancy which competency and idleness always produce. All history shows how naturally and perfectly they have answered these ends, and how admirable is their use in that state of society, which must soon be ours, where leisure and cultivation may be combined; how often they have proved a peaceful resource against the dangers of popular, turbulent idleness, as well as a promoter of the sister graces of life, and of all the high attainments of civilization; how often they have essentially contributed to elevation of character, to the developement of a great moral sentiment of mankind, — a sentiment at all times earnestly cultivated with us. As illustrators of moral subjects, they can delight and strengthen the noblest feelings. Their power is in nature, and no repetition can diminish their freshness. Heroic sacrifice, devoted faith, sufferings endured for principle's sake, joy the reward of virtue, happiness the gift of a kind Providence, can be severally transported from the world of the imaginary and ideal into actual and glowing existence, by the colors of the canvass, or the outlines and mellow surface of the marble. If all the

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occasions of affecting feeling, or noble actions, sparkling throughout our brief history, could be preserved to us by the arts, disengaged from all commonplace accessories, what fuel would be given to honorable ambition, what light to virtue! Does not even the pictorial exhibition, or the sculptured form, accurate in the representation of one we have learned to admire, excite those wholesome feelings, which their living presence would do? No one could stand before a statue of Washington, perfectly expressive of the character of the man, embodying his noble mind in the lineaments of his face and form, without awe and admiration, without carrying away some of the inexhaustible influence which breathes around it, without experiencing a pious awe, and rising for a moment into a fuller conception and enjoyment of the matchless virtues of the man. Such an effect or influence is permanently valuable. The statue which constantly produces it, should rank with the gift, bequeathed to his country and to man by his biographer, the most precious gift which can be offered by a citizen or accepted by a nation. In the same way, no one could stand without delight before the definite, tangible representations of the poetical conceptions of Scott, and see them plainly figured to the before vaguely excited imagination, clothed in the garb of living pictures or statues. It is disclosing them to the mind through a new sense, which doubly deepens their impression.

But, in reply to these remarks, admitting their truth, it may be urged, that certain periods of national existence, peculiar stages of civilization only, are favorable to the developement of the arts; that this age and country are not the time and place for their rise; that art must spring from an irresistible impulse, independent of patronage; that it is a bursting-out of a succession of geniuses with their followers, who influence all around them, and command admiration and respect, duly granted to the preëminence of their powers and productions; that with us, nothing like this has appeared, or is likely to appear; that we are, of all people, the furthest removed from the ideal in our intellectual character, and from leisure in our manner of life; that we cannot comprehend the beauties of art, when presented to us, much less may we hope to create them. It may be said, that we are born for different objects, trained to opposite pursuits. We grapple with the actual and outward world; we struggle for support, advance-

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ment, competency; busy life here knows no leisure, no recreation; all are swallowed up in the absorbing pursuit of business; how could art be born, how live, in so uncongenial a soil?

These are pressing objections, but they may be met by an examination into the national character, which seems to us remarkably adapted to a keen relish for the arts, and capable of the highest productions in them. We Anglo-Americans have a tendency to excitement, great enthusiasm, deep sensibility and sympathy, an undertone of strong feeling constantly breaking out. We have lost, from long separation and difference of circumstances, much of our ancestral English phlegm, hardness, and composure, and have become quick, inventive, easily absorbed in any exciting profession, and constant and earnest in any attractive pursuit. This is the sort of character, which the artist most easily impresses, and one form which he himself is most apt to spring; for it is one awake to historical allusion, sensitive to touches of character, alive to all the influences of the beautiful.

It is no contradiction to this statement to allow, that the taste of the community is most crude, extravagant alike in its praise and blame. The fault lies in its insufficient acquaintance with the works of art, and the want of a true standard of judgment, to be gained only by a study of the best works, which we, for a long time, must be without. But no picture of merit ever enters this country, that it is not enjoyed and felt, not from a spirit of fashionable imitation, but from a natural love and relish, not so keen, of course, and discriminating, as that of the connoisseur, but still furnishing a deep foundation for the highest cultivation of the popular taste. For art with us must be popular, enjoyed by the people, supported by the people. We have no privileged class to sustain it. Hence its progress may be more gradual, but it will be more fruitful, more rich and various in its maturity, and more lasting.

In England we doubt if there is, or can be, a popular taste for the arts. It is not in her character or condition. Art is liberally patronized; but is it not for the sake of the patron, rather than of the people? It seems an exotic, supported by the immense wealth and luxury of the nation. Its native fruits have never been of the rarest kind or quality. Hogarth and Flaxman have exhibited the most original genius, and in

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their way have been unsurpassed; but the school cannot be said to have ever arisen to general characteristic eminence or influence.

There is much to be hoped for from the spirit of emulation amongst us. In this respect we may anticipate advantages, similar to those enjoyed by the Italian states of the middle ages. A generous rivalry must spring up between the artists of different states and cities; various schools will be originated, each with a pride and reputation of its own. The same spirit has done wonders for us, in internal improvements and public works; its influence must be equally happy in the peaceful rivalry of the arts.

But above all, we have liberty, the soil from which every heavenly gift to man springs with most vigorous growth. To art it is particularly essential, and has accompanied it, wherever it has arisen to its natural and palmy state. The artist must feel no restraint over his hand or his thoughts; his touches cannot be guided by another; his subjects must be the meditations of a free and manly mind. Patronage, when forced upon him, may support a sickly representative of art; but, like poetry and eloquence, when bridled, it loses its noble gait and graceful bounds, it becomes tame and impotent. No people enjoyed greater comparative liberty, than the artists under the Medici and their contemporaries; and, although living at a time when aristocratic tyranny was beginning to smother popular liberty, they always kept alive among their own class the spirit of personal freedom. No man's life was more free from sycophancy or servility than Michael Angelo's. His just, though modest estimation of his own merit, and of what was due to his art, led him into many a contention with those, whose power over him could condemn, if they dared, to imprisonment and misery.

Personal effort and talent, during all the flourishing times of Italian art, were the only security for success; and the benefits of patronage fell, with but few exceptions, and with a remarkable appropriateness and justice, upon merit and character. Whenever cases of neglect do occur, they may be traced to the fault of the individual, who obscured his merit by caprice, indolence, irresolution, or treachery. The artists came forward to struggle in the arena of fair public contention, and in that contention they acquired the vigor, manliness, and boldness of their style and subjects; through danger and

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difficulties they won their way up to the then lofty eminence of distinction; like Leonardo di Vinci, they painted, girded and armed, with the drawn sword by their side, to protect themselves from the treachery of rivals, or the violence of fellow-citizens, in whose feuds their ardent tempers had joined. Like knights of chivalry, they watched, mailed and equipped, for their beautiful visions, and a greater purity and softness were imparted to them from their contrast to the dangers, which lurked around their studio. Their enthusiasm was kindled by difficulties, and their devotion worshipped more fondly the creations of peace and purity, which elevated and sanctified life to them. It was in the midst of such struggles and dangers, that art found for itself a home, and grew, and produced its richest fruit. We do not mean to say, that these dangers and difficulties were the parent of art, or its appropriate atmosphere; but they show, that, as its creations are of high and difficult execution, so they cannot be obtained without a corresponding exertion and sacrifice, without the whole mind of the artist being bent to his work, and impressing those around him with the vigor and influence of his genius.

But, again we would repeat, that freedom is an essential, vital element in the condition of the arts; its very atmosphere and light. How necessary it is to them, is shown by this; that they make it, when they do not find it, or die in the attempt. Political and popular freedom is best, as favoring the whole class of artists; whereas individual freedom favors only the single artist. The arts may have gleamed up during a despotic age, but it was when they were the fruit of a preceding period of freedom, and not the growth of the times in which they actually appeared; and, as soon as the hand of compulsion has pressed upon them for a time, we shall find them becoming meagre and barren. Architecture may possibly be an exception to this, as many Roman emperors, who ruled with a bloody sword, devoted their wealth and magnificence to architectural structures. But even in the present ruins of these structures, the design and original plans seem less striking and beautiful than the gorgeous and meretricious richness. Pure taste declined with the lengthening line of the Cæsars.

With us, artists have not to struggle against oppression, compulsion, rude disorder, or an uncivilized state of society,

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but against ignorance, and the uncultivated taste of the public. Yet, even in this contention, their independence and character will be fully tried. For no ordinary resolution is requisite to cling to the pure and difficult path ; to purge the fancy from those creations, which attract our still unformed taste ; to turn from temporary reputation, and add a portion to the influences, which lead to a higher state of the arts. Still, let the aim of each be lofty, and, whatever point he reaches, that point will be in the right line to eminence. Let them labor for their art itself, in its highest perfection, and then, if a misjudging public bestow no applause, they may be conscious how much their efforts have surpassed that public, and shot beyond the backward taste of critics.

There is no want of patronage towards native artists. Merit, in general, meets with as much reward with us as perhaps anywhere. In Europe, there may be instances of greater rewards to prominent individuals ; but a proportionably greater number swell the list of the neglected and starving. But the word *patronage* seems a term inapplicable to the employment of artists here. It is more of an equitable and natural compensation for labor and talent ; a purchasing of an intellectual gratification.

It would be better, perhaps, for our arts, if there were men of patronage, in the European sense of the word ; that artists, being less dependent on the wishes and tasteless instructions of their employers, might exercise a freer choice of subjects. Much of the time now wasted in committing to canvass the head of some master of a family, or his favorite son or daughter, at half price, for the sake of turning a better penny, deserves to be employed upon the more difficult execution of worthier subjects, so as to lead through the path of constant practice to the perfect expression of conceptions of noble interest.

There is no lack of artists among us. The number at present is very great for a new country, particularly of sculptors. Painting has never been without its more or less distinguished votaries ; but it is a little remarkable, that sculpture should spring up in a country so far removed from every specimen of it, that hundreds of thousands have never seen a statue. In some individuals, the taste for it, as a pursuit, has been excited by influences so slight, and in places so remote from its objects, that it is to inspiration alone, not the faint images

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of art wafted from abroad, that we must look for an explanation of the phenomenon. It was the impulse of genius which led Mr. Powers from his inauspicious beginnings in waxen figures, to the attempt of embodying in stone, not the features and lines alone of the human face, but the expression, the mind, the light and force of character. There is something very striking in the career of such an individual, springing from an humble beginning, pushing his way forward beyond the doubts of his situation, beyond home and friends, and carrying his triumphant course across the Atlantic, into a land, the very garden of art, there to wrest the palm of superiority from the most accomplished competitors. Would not the slightest distrust of his genius, or a timid admiration of his pursuit, have led him to remain at home, and earn the easy admiration of his countrymen, without entering the lists with rivals trained from infancy to their work, and living under the influence of the purest models of ancient and modern times? Does not a natural impulse speak out in such a career? Does nature ever induce such privation and labor but for success? Ours is a day of wonders, but this certainly might rank among the remarkable things. A sneering foreign critic might remark upon such a course, with some apparent aptness, as the height of an alleged national self-sufficiency; but surely the historian, noticing the various developements of our character from time to time, might quote the example of this artist as a noble instance of its energy, enthusiasm, and high-wrought determination, and adduce his success as a proof of the sagacity and discernment which direct it.

Yet similar has been the career of two other American sculptors, to one of whom, Greenough, belongs the additional merit of having opened the path to Italy, and, by successfully trying the experiment, led on the young career of our arts. How prominent his success, his high name among us amply shows; and yet, that name cannot be more than dawning, since his greatest works have not yet appeared, and he himself is scarce entered upon that period of life, which is the flower age of the artist. His productions exhibited in this country show great purity and delicacy, a spiritual tone, and freedom from all servitude to the common and prevalent Italian tastes and subjects. The developement of his higher powers belongs to those grander works, ordered by our govern-

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ment, one of which is so popular, and at the same time, dignified, that it will naturally call forth all his genius. An excellent characteristic of this artist was his early and constant attention to the very highest objects of his art. He aimed at the ideal and poetical, to be expressed by the whole figure, and seldom or never reached by busts alone ; he appears to have felt, at the outset, the extent of his art, and to have grasped it all. The same may be said of Mr. Crawford, led by a love of his art to desert an American studio for Italy. Devoting himself in Rome to a close study of the antique, he purified his taste, whilst he improved his practice with the chisel and clay. His ambition led him, in his earliest efforts, to a daring attempt, and produced his Orpheus, representing the bard, just in the act of descending into the shades of hell, to reclaim his Eurydice ; a statue most poetical and original in its conception, and extremely difficult of execution ; the body being thrown forward, and motion diffused throughout the whole figure. The hardihood of a young artist attempting a subject so new, and a position so difficult, including points to be settled by his sole judgment, without the authority of the antique, could only be justified by a sight of the statue itself. As the production of a young man, it is wonderful, and might grace the studio of any living artist, and add to his reputation.

The most apparent road to success, with young sculptors in America, is that of taking portrait busts. The professional improvement made in this occupation is at best doubtful. Mechanical ingenuity and skill may be acquired, but taste is not exercised, nor invention called out. Nature is studied, not to idealize upon, or to combine her various excellences into one perfect whole, but merely to copy with minute accuracy, to make a *fac simile*. The mind of the artist is not taxed, and there is no fair opening for those characteristic touches, which are the essence of expression. The hand and the eye may be improved, and it is a gratifying and useful proof of power, to bestow upon a family and friends the almost living resemblance of one perhaps dead, though still familiar in their recollections. But, beyond this, the advantages of such practice are very doubtful. The artist who aims at the highest excellence in his art, would do well to quit this branch of it, when his emergencies cease to require it.

One word upon the popular notion, that the arts are a source

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of corrupting luxury, and unfavorable moral influence, and we leave this portion of our subject. It is apparently a prejudice, springing from the association of the fine arts with the character of times when they most flourished, and which happened to be times of general corruption and licentiousness. Thus the vices of the Italian character are interwoven with our notions of Italian painting, and sculpture, and music, and we foolishly anticipate, from an introduction of the latter, an inundation of the former; whereas they are no more cause and effect, than Italian poverty and Italian statuary, or political subjection and frescos. Doubtless there may be an immoral picture, and an immoral statue, but they are not more necessarily so than books; and it would be as reasonable to condemn English literature, because "Tom Jones" and "Don Juan" could be found in it, as to condemn painting, because Titian courted the applause of his countrymen by his corrupting representations of Venus. It is wiser and better to deny at once the authority of the common prejudice, that pleasure and purity, leisure and morality are incompatible; and to regard as nearer the truth the opinion, that love of innocent enjoyment, of beauty, the gratification of fancy, the indulgence of taste, are among the original, strong, good principles of our nature, the developement of which will ward off corruption, and complete and perfect the social man.

There still remains one branch of the fine arts, which we have left to the last, as for this country the most important and influential of all, — Architecture. Let us take the word in its widest and most popular signification, as a term including all those predominant and distinguishing characteristics, which mark and constitute the style of buildings in different ages and among various nations. In this wide sense, all periods, from the most savage to the most civilized, have their architecture, and we may jump at once out of the limits of the five orders, and, ranging through all history and all countries, find everywhere this interesting and popular art developed. It is in this signification that it claims the merit of being the most historical of the arts, not alone as marking the chronology of its builders, but as distinguishing, in its forms, materials, and uses, the character and advancement of the period and people, which gave it birth. By it we can rightly sketch the progress of man from the earliest times downwards. It marks, in imperishable

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characters, in the pyramids of Egypt, the despotic vanity of the ruler, and the slavish subjection of the subject, compelled to years of labor upon a useless mass raised to perpetuate only a single name. In the elegant temples of Greece, we admire the pure, well-balanced, heightened, intellectual character of the Athenians, prolonging its influence to the present day. In the ampitheatres, the long aqueducts, the paved ways of Rome, we recognise the grand popular spirit and heroic character of the republic, and, in the gorgeous palaces, the overgrown luxury of the empire. The mixed architecture of the middle ages carries us back to a time of confusion and ignorance, when the little light of the world was borrowed from the past, and whatever was graceful and humane was but the broken and distorted reflection of former days. Then followed the Gothic, grand, majestic, and spiritual; vast in its compass, to hold the mighty myriads of the northern hordes, simple and sublime in its main divisions and proportions, indicating the high and daring tone of their character, yet complicated and puerilely minute in its ornamental details, to mark the barbarity of that character. Thus, too, the ruined castles upon the Rhine are the great historical proofs of the once feudal state of the country. The numerous and gorgeous churches of Rome mark the ascendency of religion, and its union with temporal power; and the barred and fortress-like palaces of Florence, the times of turbulent party spirit, of warring aristocracy, and struggling democracy. The opening of Pompeii has probably made us more intimate with Roman manners and customs, and styles of living, than all the learning and criticism of modern Europe; yet little but the buildings and their ornaments remained. It is in this broad definition of the term, that we can speak of architecture in America; for to consider it otherwise, or as the science of construction based upon the strict arbitrary rules of the five orders, would make it a subject of painful and fruitless contemplation. If we examine the character of our buildings, we shall find them reflecting our state of society, our form of government, and our prominent occupations. Our State-houses and town-houses mark our representative and legislative authority; our banks and storehouses, our high commercial activity; and our numerous and various churches, the flourishing, but divided and independent, state of religion. These are the objects of our architectural ornament and display, and

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they are precisely those characterizing our condition. Hence we see that architecture is the great expression of national character, and that every great period of society has its significant style.

Again, it is the most popular of the arts. We mean, it influences and gratifies more than any other the mass of men. Pictures and statues require, for their full enjoyment, some degree of cultivation; but the rudest will be impressed with the imposing piles of architecture. Fine buildings are the household furniture of a city, and as influential upon the disposition of its inhabitants, as domestic furniture upon the good manners and character of the family circle. They are ever present companions to the citizen, confronting him in his daily walks, gradually affecting his mind and tastes, and binding round their well-proportioned members, the chains of renewed and strengthened association. They go to make up a large portion of the pride felt in home and country. If the citizen of an ornamented city be absent for a time, he misses its customary outward influences, and returns with zest to the well-ordered arrangements, the majestic fronts, the pleasing interior, of his own public buildings. He acquires a feeling of ownership, and even of care, for these precious ornaments of his land; and his vanity is gratified by pointing them out to strangers as marks of the taste, wealth, and cultivation of his countrymen.

Since, then, architecture is so popular and influential, it is highly important that it be not neglected, as all our hopes rest upon popular cultivation. It is in fact one of the most natural and apparent means of producing that refinement, ease, and profitable enjoyment of leisure, whose absence mars our society, and takes from its true beauty and worth. The solid qualities of character are possessed by this people in as great perfection as by any other; but these alone do not constitute the full enjoyment of life. We have yet to supply occupation for many leisure minutes of each day, which are now shaded over and darkened by the trespassing cares of our business occupations. This art is peculiarly adapted to effect this, as study and attention to it awaken in the mind the liveliest images of beauty and grandeur, and inspire it with the full enjoyment of embodied grace. And even the mere occupation of construction is a useful and exhilarating stimulus. The interest of planning a house, or su-

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perintending its erection, is very great. How much greater that of erecting a large public building, the receptacle of multitudes assembled for the most serious and lasting objects, to deliberate upon national interests, or meditate upon the sublime truths of religion. Then we build for centuries, for remotest generations, carrying the associations of the present far beyond the recollections of living witnesses, into the furthest future ages; associations free from the factiousness and ill-blood of political excitement, and awakening a generous pride of citizenship, and an enthusiasm for national glory and honor.

The popular disposition is always to embody its feelings of admiration and enthusiasm in such objects, and thereby to give them a locality, a habitation, and a name. Even religion gains power and support from the imposing house of prayer.

We are too apt to despair of ever seeing any thing like a national school of architecture. Certainly there is much ground for the feeling. But it is unfortunate to indulge it now, when we are requiring so many public buildings of a permanent character; and, unless these are erected with taste and care, they will stand a source of perpetual annoyance to succeeding and more cultivated generations. Most of our cities are now of a size to erect buildings for the various public offices of religion, of legislation, of finance, of education, &c. They are rich enough to furnish materials of the best description, and in suitable abundance; and the skill of the mere builder is not wanting to make them durable for ages. But the mind of the artist is wanting. No one has yet appeared to captivate the popular admiration by new and appropriate forms. That our people do not express more interest in their public buildings, or more indignation at their imperfections, is in no way surprising. They have as yet never fairly known what enjoyment is to be derived from a fine building. They have never seen one which comes home to their associations, their ideas of fitness and excellence, or their notions of grandeur and majesty.

At present, our public and private buildings present constant violations of the simplest rules of architecture, but of none more than of proportion of parts and propriety of ornament. Proportion gives enjoyment even to the most un-

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cultivated eye, though none but the most skilful hand can create it. It is only to be obtained by long and patient study, by poring as it were over the models of acknowledged merit, and catching the spirit of their beauty, not the mere measurement of their lines. It must be the habitual expression of the hand of the artist, as beauty is that of the mind of the poet. But there are few, if any of the works of American architects, which are stamped with this truly artistic character, and many of our most pleasing buildings are those planned and erected by English artists during the colonial times; such as the King's Chapel in Boston, and the Episcopal Church, at Cambridge, in every line and combination of which we see the hand of an accomplished draughtsman.

Breadth of effect, dignity, and imposing appearance are also most uncommon; not so much from the size of our buildings, as from the cutting up, and minute division of parts. The *façades* of most houses are made complete sieves for the admission of light, and it is doubtful, in some, whether windows or blank wall predominate. This, of course, gives a fragile and summer-house like effect to the outside, which should be as massive and stable in appearance as possible, and is equally prejudicial to the good appearance of the interior, as admitting various cross lights, instead of one broad mass.

Ornament, too, is lavished with the most tasteless and unnecessary profusion, as if the beauty of ornament consisted, not in its appropriateness and finishing effect, but in its costly extravagance. Simplicity and unity are the ground work of beauty, and this trick of subdivision, and running to miniature and incongruous details, is utterly at war with it. In no buildings is this confusion and display of ornament so manifested, as in our Gothic modern churches, cottages, and barns. The ornament of the genuine Gothic impresses us, in the grand original buildings, partly from the richness of its united effect in a great mass, and partly from the lightness which it gives to such solid materials as stone or marble. But this richness and its effect degenerate into childish display upon a small building, especially if the material be frail; and, as two or three clumped pillars, and a small fretted vault, have little reference or similarity to the thick-studded grove, or its broad but delicate canopy of leaves, (the origin

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in nature of the Gothic order,) still less may these unhallowed cuttings and carvings of the carpenter's chisel, so common with us, claim any alliance with the lofty magnificence of the Gothic, which they imitate in so ghastly a manner. Imitation is bad enough in its greatest perfection; but we are flooded with miserable imitations of transatlantic buildings, deficient in the points most worthy of imitation, their beauty of proportions and solidity of materials.

There is another disregard of propriety in our buildings, highly injurious to their good appearance, even if they were more worthy of admiration, — their being crowded one against another, so as to allow no space for the spectator. Trinity Church, in Boston, is a striking instance of this defect. Viewed from the Common, down Winter Street, it strongly impresses the spectator with the idea of its solidity and grandeur; but approach it, and the neck is twisted off, in trying to enjoy its massy proportions. And so Saint Paul's, in the same city, having a portico remarkably harmonious in its proportions and color, rarely attracts the eye, disturbed on the one side by the encroaching row of brick dwelling-houses, and by the rather fantastic Masonic Temple on the other. The new Custom House is far more happy in the relation of its proportions to the space in which it will be viewed.

Striking, however, as are all these defects of American architecture, it is obvious, that a great improvement, a higher taste, and a desire for better things, are manifesting themselves. The wants and wishes of the country are expressed in such buildings as Girard College at Philadelphia, the New Custom House at New York, and that at Boston, which do honor to American genius and taste, and will be favorable witnesses, as long as they shall stand, to the degree of present advancement. Now, then, is the time for the man to arise, who will give originality and power to the creations of the architect, and new direction and influence to these symptoms of dawning luxury. The people are fast parting with the obstinacy and conceit, which led them to interfere with the plans of the architect, resigning them for that better wisdom, which acknowledges and follows a guide well skilled in his profession. The country abounds in materials of the richest description, daily consumed, and worked up into the form of churches, banks, warehouses, and city halls, only needing the ordering

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mind of the architect, to spring into shapes of elegance and fitness. The task of making a fine building is quite as easy as that of making an ugly one, and only requires resolution on the part of the artist to resist interference, and to manage and guide and persuade his employers. There is no reason to fear that our people will not acknowledge beauty and orderly arrangement, when they see them, and with them the merit of the artist. In fact, the bar to beautiful structures does not exist so much in the incapacity of the people, as in that of the artist himself. Though we have had men of merit, we have had none equal to the high and difficult task; none with the creative and energetic mind, the enterprising spirit, the soul overflowing with the love of art, the memory teeming with all its past productions, the imagination exercised in all the varieties of combination, the self-devotion, the determination to effect, the continued sacrifice of all other pursuits and interests. These are the elements of the required character, and until they come to fashion the man, we cannot say to what extent he may not influence a people, young and easily moulded, or how far he may not show, that imagination and sensibility are accompaniments to every state of man, that acceptable food must be supplied to them; and proud, happy, and long revered will be the memory of the artist, who slakes from the great well-spring of his own creative genius, the thirst of our nature for ideal beauty materialized and brought within the limit and intercourse of our senses.

Let us imagine, as a closing picture, the course of such an architect, to whom nature had given the true elements of vigor and genius. The reports of the treasures of the old world would soon lead him across the waters, to draw, from the relics of three thousand years, instruction, improvement, and inspiration. He would peruse each order, and each national style, with deference to the taste and character of its inventors, studying them as eagerly as a scholar the literature of the past, copying, and recopying them, selecting what was good and pure, and rejecting the bad, until the whole peculiar spirit of their beauty had passed into his mind. Then would he watch their changes and combinations, as they passed on, improving or degenerating, into the new forms of succeeding times; observing the while, that the imagination is as sportive and changing, as readily adapting itself to each new feature of society, with the trowel and chisel, as with the pen. He

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would learn, that, though one age might boast of its preëminent purity of taste, yet none was without its expression; that, if the simple Doric, or the graceful Ionic, might exhibit an almost divine beauty in the Attic temple, still the Greco-Gothic cathedral was not without its barbarous quaintness, nor the Moorish villa without its rich, imaginative, fantastic Asiatic air. He would see how powerfully the frowning palaces of Florence brought back the turbulent, dark, savage times of their constructors, and awed the memory into historical recollections, less joyful and exhilarating perhaps, than those awakened amid the rich ruins of Ephesus and Delos, but not less fascinating. Then, seeing how modern civilization, with its thousand sacrifices to comfort and convenience, had marred his art, he would tax his ingenuity to give beauty to even its minute structures, knowing that all form is capable of expression, and that the artist has almost the power of divinity over his materials, binding all things in beauty. His hand and his eye would be taught to execute with unerring fidelity the conceptions of his imagination, and these would be guided by that deep knowledge of the wants, habits, and character of his fellow men, which constitutes the philosophy of his art, without which he cannot hope to influence or impress the popular mind. Let him, after such a tuition, return to America, coming not like a pupil, still clinging to the leading-strings of the master spirits of the dead past, but confident in his own light, braced by nature and study to the noble task of writing in stone and marble, all over the country, the imperishable record of our condition, so new, so fresh, so unexpressed. Let him rightly combine, in his works, the great elements of his art, producing what is truly national and emblematical to the American people, and it is impossible that he should not strike home to their admiration. Have we not feelings, passions, prejudices, associations, as strong and as lively as any people on earth? and where lies the reason, that they should not be addressed by wood and stone, as well as any of those of the hundreds of nations, who have risen and sunk into the tomb of history, leaving nothing but their temples, palaces, and fortifications, as a tangible memorial of their existence? Is there any thing more delusive in the anticipation of a future brilliant career of the arts in America, than in the hope, that we may see a national literature, or a national school of science, or of philosophy? The time may or may

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not come within this or the next century, but come it certainly will, and we venture to affirm, that with regard to one of them, Sculpture, its day will have arisen, when the marble personified image of Washington lands on the shores of the Potomac.

ART. III. — 1. *Annual Reports of the Boston Academy of Music, from* 1833 *to* 1840 *inclusive.*

2. *Address on the Opening of the Odeon, August 5th,* 1835. By SAMUEL A. ELIOT. 8vo. pp. 17.

3. *Report to the School Committee of Boston, August 24th,* 1837. By T. K. DAVIS. 8vo. pp. 20.

4. *The Musical Magazine,* conducted by H. T. HACH. 1839, 1840.

A GREAT revolution in the musical character of the American people has begun, and is, we trust, to go forward, like other revolutions, till its ultimate object be attained. If its progress continue to be as rapid as it has thus far been, it will be another signal instance of the railroad velocity with which the Americans are apt to convert a seemingly distant futurity into a present reality. Before we refer to the means by which this remarkable change has been begun, we intend to speak of the reasons which justify the attempt to produce it; or, in other words, to set forth the true claims which music has upon the respect and interest of this community and of all communities. We are led to do this partly by the subdued tone that we perceive in several of the productions the titles of which we have placed at the head of this article; in almost all of them there seems to be a restraint on the expressions of the authors, as if they feared to say the whole truth on the subject, lest the public should turn an incredulous ear, or smile at the hitherto unheard warmth of their language. The time has now come, however, at least in this vicinity, when no one need fear to speak out all his thoughts, or give utterance to all his feelings upon the art; and when it may be useful, not only here but in all parts of the country where our voice can be heard, to exhibit the reasons why the change which is in progress should be vigorously promoted, and the means by which this may be accomplished pointed out.

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Of all the fine arts, music is the most extensive in its influence. There are more persons, in all countries and in all stages of civilization, who are agreeably or powerfully affected by music, than there are who can enjoy any other art. Strangely as this assertion may sound to those who were taught, as was commonly believed twenty years ago, that an ear for music is a rare endowment, it is nevertheless literally true. The rarity is, to find one who has not an ear for music, or who cannot be affected by it in any manner. We care not how simple, or coarse, or uncouth it may be, — if it be as inartificial as the accompaniment of an Indian dance, or as monotonous as a death song, still if one be excited or touched by it, he has an ear for music, which needs nothing but suitable cultivation to be educated to enjoy the most complicated harmony of a symphony by the most scientific composer.

There is many a mathematical mind that cannot conceive of a charm in the poetry which proves nothing; there is many a miser who sees nought in architecture but the waste of money upon ornament. There are those, even among cultivated persons, who cannot be made to perceive, still less to enjoy, the beauties and wonders of painting or sculpture. But neither they, nor the most withered miser, nor the most devoted mathematician, nor the most worldly speculator, will fail to be moved by some kind of exhibition of that art which appeals at once to the senses and the soul. The sweet, innocent voice of the child will cause some chord of the heart to vibrate; or the spirit-stirring music of the military band will awaken a slumbering emotion; the song of the accomplished artist will please; or the church choir and the solemn organ will excite reverence in the heart of the most cold, calculating, or selfish. We have heard of such a thing as a person who was insensible to the beauties of other arts, nay we have seen such, but never have we heard of one who was utterly indifferent to all kinds of music. We believe no such human being to exist, and therefore we say that the influence of music is universal.

If not absolutely universal, (and we are willing to allow there may be exceptions, though we have never heard of them,) it is so nearly so, that the thing becomes important from this circumstance alone. If the effect produced upon an individual were trifling, yet the aggregate, upon all individuals, must be a considerable matter. But so far from the

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effect being insignificant, we contend, that it is worthy of the attention and demands the careful consideration of statesmen and lawgivers, parents, teachers, and philanthropists. The well-known *dictum*, "Let me make the people's ballads, and I care not who makes their laws," was founded not merely on a knowledge of human nature, but on an acquaintance with the means by which a deep and permanent impression is to be made on men's minds and character. And no one who reflects for a moment upon the part of our nature to which music appeals, or upon the effects which have been produced by it, can doubt that it may be made, for it has been made, a means of powerful influence for good or for evil. It addresses itself to the emotions, the passions of men; it excites them, it represses them; it is the universal stimulus, and the natural, irresistible expression of the feelings. Who can doubt that men are governed more by feeling and impulse than by reason and reflection? Who can question, then, the power of the art by which the active capacities of our nature are so much affected? It excites the imagination, too, in a degree scarcely surpassed by the most powerful of its sister arts, and by this combination of influences becomes more efficient than poetry itself. The experience of the world, in all ages and nations, not excepting our own practical, mechanical, busy age and nation, confirms the assertions we are making of the power of music. Without referring to the stories which have come down to us from antiquity, we will only express our conviction that an additional *impetus* was given to the French revolution by the popular airs and songs which were then circulated; that the national anthem of "God save the King" has produced a positive effect upon the nation who have so long sung it, and that it has in fact saved the King from many a revolutionary impulse. We believe, too, that the aid of music was invoked, not in vain, in our own late elections.

But it is not for purposes of temporary excitement, merely, that music is available. The permanent effect produced upon the national character by the habitual practice of the art is so obvious as always to have been a subject of applause or reproach, according as refinement was thought to be produced, or effeminacy imputed as its consequence. We do not think there is any danger of weakening the real strength of the character, by the love or the practice of any of the arts of embellishment; least of all by that of music, which exercises

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and developes at once the physical, intellectual, and moral powers. The marble is not softened when the jagged corners of the block are cut off, its rough surface smoothed, and it is converted from a shapeless mass into the rounded, light, and graceful figure. There is so much of inertness, selfishness, and ferocity inherent in human nature, that we think it of the utmost importance to cherish every thing which has a tendency to excite the kind and gentle feelings to activity. Music, properly cultivated, has this tendency to a very great extent, — far greater than either of the other fine arts. It has some advantages, which add to its power, and therefore to its importance, in comparison with other pursuits. Of these we propose to speak briefly.

It is preëminently a social enjoyment. A man may, to be sure, sing or play when alone, but the presence of one who can accompany him, much more than doubles his pleasure. He will seek association with others, therefore, which cannot fail to render necessary a greater or less degree of yielding to their wishes and opinions ; and every instance of this strengthens his sympathy and benevolence, and in the same ratio diminishes his selfishness. The pleasures of harmony can scarcely be obtained at all without the coöperation of numbers ; and some of the most valuable qualities, intellectual and moral, are brought into action by combinations for such a purpose.

Not only must there be an association of individuals for high musical productions, but there is an almost necessary combination of arts in that of music, which

"De cent plaisirs fait un plaisir unique."

Poetry is so intimately connected with vocal music as to be nearly always joined with it ; while the art of oratory, or rather of elocution, which certainly does not stand in the lowest rank of intellectual efforts, has an indissoluble connexion with it. There is no such necessary combination in the other arts. They stand separate, and have their distinct and peculiar beauties ; while music draws her sisters around her, and the fascination of each is heightened by the mingled charms of her companions.

There is another combination in which music is peculiar, namely, in the powers it calls into exercise. Nothing else that we know, excites at once the physical, intellectual, and moral

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powers of human nature, — in other words, our whole nature, — to the degree that music does. By other pursuits, we may improve one faculty at a time; by this, we improve at once every part of our nature.

There is one other union we will mention, which, though not peculiar to music, is more manifest in that study than in almost any other, the union of amusing or pleasing occupation with that which is useful. "Useful!" we see our readers mentally exclaiming; "we acknowledge the art to be a pleasing accomplishment, but what is its utility apart from its agreeableness?" We do not wish to be considered as enthusiasts, or the utterers of mere extravagances which can neither be believed nor regarded as of the least practical consequence. We think we can show that we use the words of truth and soberness; and we will therefore state in what consists, in our opinion, the value of music as an intellectual exercise. The mathematics are generally considered as particularly useful in giving to the mind habits of precision and method, without which true results cannot be obtained. It is the same with the study of the elements of music. The division of notes by their length, and their separation by interval, is a study of the very same nature with mathematics, while accuracy, method, and order are not less indispensable to the attainment of pleasing results. Music is, as it were, mathematics in action, and what is an important addition to the youthful student, in agreeable action. He can learn to add, subtract, multiply and divide by whole, half, and quarter notes, as well as he can by Arabic figures; while tones and semitones, with the exponent flats and sharps, may give him a practical idea of fractions as accurate as the rules of Colburn or Emerson. He cannot help learning something beside music. In gaining a competent knowledge of that, he is learning arithmetic as surely as by the use of the slate and pencil; and he is acquiring habits which cannot fail to benefit him in every other pursuit of life.

Reading well is usually considered a very good test of the talents and attainments of the scholar, because it implies the knowledge of the proper mode of expressing the sentiments conveyed by language, as well as the sensibility to feel them. The very same thing is doubly requisite in singing. Expression is of the essence of music. There can be no good singing, and but little good playing without it,

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and, as the art of expressing sentiment well and appropriately is much more difficult in singing than in speaking, it is, of course, a higher intellectual effort. Those who have acquired the more difficult accomplishment will rarely fail to read and speak with expression and effect. These auxiliary powers and advantages of the study render music a very important branch of youthful education; and there are other qualities it possesses which still further increase its value as an instrument in the hands of the teacher of youth. It is found by experience to be a very strong attraction to the school-room. Those who are often absent on other days, are sure to be present when the music lesson is to be given; and no punishment is so efficient as being deprived of the privilege of attending it. It aids the young mind in its progress through drier studies, by the partial and pleasant relaxation it affords to the intellectual powers, often unreasonably taxed by those who have little acquaintance with their strength; and it is a better recreation than a game of foot-ball, or any other merely physical exercise, for it gives a healthy activity to mind and body too, and is applicable to all ages and both sexes of youth.

Another circumstance which renders music of extraordinary and almost inappreciable value in this country, is the necessity of discipline, strict conformity to rules, the subordination of the different parts and voices, and the distinctness of each department. In music, every one, from the highest to the lowest, has his appointed, fixed place, which he can neither quit nor neglect without marring his own enjoyment, as well as that of others. What an inestimable incident is this, in any study to be pursued in this country, where every man is so apt to entertain the idea that he is born with a genius for any thing he may choose to undertake, and that he not only may acquire, but actually possesses, as much knowledge as anybody else upon any given subject. We are self-made, or we are born, statesmen, orators, mechanics, and merchants, as well as poets, painters, and sculptors. It is quite unnecessary for anybody to undertake to instruct us; and serving an apprenticeship to any art or trade is a thing entirely exploded from the modern system of society. Submission to authority was all very well in earlier and simpler periods of the world; but now even respect for the opinions or reasonings of the ablest and best of our contemporaries is quite behind the

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spirit of the age, and the march of mind. The organ of reverence is in a fair way of being obliterated from the American brain; and the time has already arrived when the attempt of one portion of society to restrain another to any degree beyond its own convenience, is universally considered unconstitutional, and interfering with those natural rights which cannot be alienated nor abridged. States nullify, whenever it suits their pleasure; towns comply with State requisitions, if convenient; individuals obey town laws, if they find it for their interest; children obey their parents when it is not more desirable that the parents should obey them; teachers are at the mercy of their pupils, and master and servant is a relation no longer known to exist. Every one, in short, places himself on his reserved, natural right of rebellion; and the constitution itself is made to maintain the most self-destructive doctrines. We consider it providential that there is one pursuit of an attractive character, which cannot be thus inverted; in which learners must submit to teachers, the less advanced must yield to those who are more so, and where every one must take his appropriate place, and not seize upon another for which his natural and acquired powers do not fit him. The bass cannot sing soprano, nor can the bassoon play the violin part. Neither can one voice or one instrument say to another, "I have no need of thee." All are wanted, and so long as they will submit to be governed at once by nature and by the rules of art, all are indispensable to the production of great effects. But the moment that disobedience or carelessness is suffered to prevail, the charm is broken, music takes her flight, and the air is filled with "wild confusion's dreadful noise."

It is well there is something left to remind us occasionally that all wisdom and all knowledge were not born with us, and that it is scarcely likely they will die with us; and we esteem it the especial duty of every American who has the opportunity to exercise any influence on the subject, and who has any just value for the peace and order of society, to exert himself in the promotion of the study of that art, which will do more than all other studies to impress on the minds of youth the importance, the necessity of discipline, order, and subordination in the affairs of this world.

The physical benefits of the study of music, especially vocal music, are not less striking than the moral and intellectual ad-

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vantages we have mentioned. Exercise gives vigor, and there is no part of the human system which requires more attention for the acquisition of a desirable degree of strength, than the vocal organs which are called into healthy action by singing, and which are so often fatally deranged by exposure in our rough climate. This is no chimera. The personal experience of many a singer may be appealed to, in confirmation of our assertion; and if there be one thing which is likely to check the seemingly peculiar tendency to consumption in our population, it is the early, and systematic culture of the vocal organs in singing.

Professional observation combines with personal experience in support of this opinion. We quote the following from Mr. Davis's report to the School Committee.

"'A fact,' says an American physician,* 'has been suggested to me by my profession, which is, that the exercise of the organs of the breast by singing contributes very much to defend them from those diseases to which the climate and other causes expose them.' A musical writer in England,† after quoting this remark, says, 'the Music Master of our Academy has furnished me with an observation still more in favor of this opinion. He informs me that he had known several persons strongly disposed to consumption, restored to health by the exercise of the lungs in singing.'‡ But why cite medical or other authorities on a point so plain. It appears self-evident that exercises in vocal music, when not carried to an unreasonable excess, must expand the chest, and thereby strengthen the lungs and vital organs." — p. 4.

The amount of exercise derived from the practice of singing is much greater than would be imagined by those not versed in it; and the fatigue incident to prolonged exertion in singing, is as positive as that which follows sawing wood, or riding on horseback. During a residence of nine or ten months in Germany some years ago, we were much struck with the fact, that diseases of the lungs of all sorts, were far less common there than with us. Is there any difference in the situation or habits of the people, to which this result may be ascribed with so much probability, as the different customs of the two nations with regard to vocal music? In Germany, everybody sings; in America, nobody. In Germany it is

* Dr. Rush. † Gardner. ‡ Boston Academy's *Manual of Vocal Music.*

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an art honored and loved; in America it is treated with an indifference at once strange and hurtful.

We have dwelt so long on the incidental advantages to be derived from the study of music, that it is time for us to speak of the direct inducements to its cultivation. As a fine art, it takes the lead, not merely from the permanent effects it is capable of producing, but from the pleasure it is adapted to yield. We agree with the author of the address at the opening of the Odeon, in the view he takes of its charm.

"What a pleasure is that derived from music! There are many refined and high gratifications, which, by the goodness of God, we are permitted to taste. Every sense is made the means of enjoyment. Every nerve conveys pleasurable sensations to the perceiving mind. We cannot look on the works of the Creator, we cannot open our eyes, without pleasure; we cannot satisfy our appetites without at the same time gratifying our palates. We cannot breathe the fragrant air without delight. But though every sense has thus its appropriate pleasures, which are neither few nor small, which are spread around us, if we will but observe them, with an abundance which nothing but infinite beneficence could have drawn from the stores of infinite wisdom and infinite power; yet I cannot hesitate to place foremost in these gratifications of sense, that which flows in upon the ear, from the sweet, the rich, the ever-varying combinations of music. Is there any thing which can be compared to the liquid harmony of well-selected instruments; the graceful air upon the soft reed; or the delicate touch of the vibrating string; or the noble swell of the soul-thrilling organ; unless, indeed, it be the simple strain of a rich voice, or the skilful modulations of one well cultivated? But when these are united and combined as scientific composers know how to use them; when we listen to the air, the chorus, the overture, the accompaniment, the vocal and the instrumental sounds which are mingled and varied, alternately separated and joined together in exquisite melodies, or grand harmony, we drink in a delight which nothing else in nature or art can give; we revel in an ecstasy waked by the living lyre, which cannot be produced by any, the happiest combinations, of the other senses."

Though this may be warmly expressed, yet it will be admitted to be substantially true by all who have the taste to enjoy, and the habit of listening to the delightful effects of music. If we look, therefore, simply and directly to increasing the means

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of happiness of our fellow creatures, to what can we give our attention that will repay our care with such a rich harvest of innocent enjoyment? One of the peculiarities of music in this respect is, that it gives pleasure to those in all stages of progress; to the beginner, the connoisseur, and persons of every degree of cultivation. In other arts a work must be good in the judgment of the cultivated, or it will please nobody when directly compared with a really excellent production. But in music the child is pleased at every step of his progress; and every diversity of taste in the adult may be gratified. There are those, who, upon deliberate comparison, prefer the musical style of Mr. Henry Russell to that of John Braham, Mrs. Wood, or Caradori Allan; and who would rather listen to Billings's Anthems than to Mozart's Requiem, or Rossini's Prayer. Be it so. We quarrel with no man's taste; but, on the contrary, we claim it as one of the advantageous distinctions of our favorite art, that it is able to adapt itself to all stages and degrees of cultivation; to give delight to the learner and the proficient, to the rude and the refined, the learned and the unlearned, and to lead all to the common source of beauty and happiness, by elevating the mind above low pursuits and pleasures, and purifying the heart from selfishness.

If there be truth in what we have now urged with regard to the beauty and the value of music, it has been truth for centuries; truth, however, unknown, or unappreciated, neglected, and we are tempted to say, scorned in this community. It is so now in most parts of the United States; and in many places it is still as it was here little more than thirty years ago, when all the music that could be heard in Boston, was from half a dozen instruments in the orchestra of the theatre, and the so-called *singing* of the several church choirs, with the accompaniment of the violoncello. It was a deplorable noise, but was the nearest approach to music that was to be heard in most of the congregational churches, one or two only of which possessed an organ. The first public efforts at reform, and the introduction of a better taste, were made by the late lamented Buckminster, who took great and successful pains to make this part of public worship generally interesting in his own church. His efforts, however, were limited to that object, setting an example that was slow to be followed by the other churches. It is nearly thirty years since "The

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Handel and Haydn Society" was formed, and collected all the persons in the city and vicinity who were able to perform Handel's music; and we recollect very well that it was thought a great achievement to sing the "Hailstone Chorus" through, without stopping.

Twenty years ago, another Boston congregation followed the example of Buckminster's, and a better style of music was introduced at the West Church by the personal efforts of one, who, had he lived longer, would doubtless have effected much more for the cause of music. But the early death of W. H. Eliot deprived the community of a zeal and efficiency, the loss of which was felt in more than one department of the public welfare. These individual and associated efforts, however, produced little general effect. There was a gradual, though very slow improvement in church music, and concerts and oratorios began to be given and attended. But there was nothing like the general impulse towards music, which for two or three years past has made it all the rage, and has begun what we called in the outset, a *musical revolution*. We propose to state what we believe to have been the means, the second causes, of the immense change which is acknowledged to have taken place here; and although the topic may seem too local, yet if the example of those who have here exerted themselves in the cause should be followed elsewhere, in consequence of our having taken notice of it, we should think ourselves doing as much as we can do in any way to promote the best welfare of our readers and our country.

In the years 1832 – 3, the public were surprised and delighted by the exhibition of the musical attainments of a class of very juvenile performers, who had acquired their skill under the direction of Messrs. L. Mason, and G. J. Webb. Never shall we forget the mingled emotions of wonder, delight, vanquished incredulity, and pleased hope, with which these juvenile concerts were attended. The coldest heart was touched, and glistening eyes and quivering lips attested the depth and strength of the feelings excited in the bosoms of parents and teachers; while the happy little pupils themselves seemed to have acquired a new sense, as they certainly had gained a new source of enjoyment. Their excitement was so great as to make frequent repetition dangerous, and the concerts were soon discontinued, notwithstanding the urgent solicitation of many to whom they were equally new and de-

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lightful. But it was manifest that the object had been gained; a deep and lasting impression had been made on the public mind and the public heart. This might, to be sure, have passed off and left no trace behind; but in this case, it was not destined to die without issue. An association of gentlemen was immediately formed, and assumed the name of "The Boston Academy of Music," the object of which was to promote musical education in the community in every way which was within the reach of their efforts. They were none of them professors of the art, nor had most of the founders of the society a knowledge of even its elementary principles; but they loved it, and saw what effects might be produced by it, and had a full perception of its importance as a means of education, enjoyment, and improvement. They gave immediate proofs of the heartiness of their zeal by co-operating cordially with the professors above named, and by incurring an expenditure of about twenty thousand dollars for an organ, and a large hall for concerts and other purposes. In 1835, the Odeon was opened, and the address above quoted was delivered by Mr. Eliot, who had that year been chosen President of the Academy. Concerts were given the succeeding winter at the Odeon, and have been kept up every year since, with a great variety in the kinds of music performed, and with a manifest improvement, in many respects, in the style of performance. No large choir had previously been so well trained in Boston.

The next prominent step in the progress of the Academy was the formation of a class of teachers of music, who have found it for their advantage to assemble annually, and hear lectures on the more important branches of the profession. A musical convention has sprung from this annual assembly, of which others are members besides the pupils of the Academy, and which will doubtless serve to extend the influence and the utility of the profession. It is one of the promising and satisfactory signs of the times, that the number of those who are induced to devote themselves to music, as a means of subsistence, is constantly increasing, thus proving the increase of the number of pupils.

The next, and the most important step taken by the Academy, was the introduction of vocal music, as a branch of elementary education, into the public schools. By this measure, not only is every child in the schools, (two thirds of the whole juvenile population of the city,) receiving a valuable

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and delightful addition to his stock of knowledge and means of happiness, but every parent of every child is acquiring an interest in the art; although they may know little about it, yet they feel that their children are made happier and better by it, and they become attached to it from their natural fondness for their offspring. We consider this as the most important thing done by the Academy, or which can be done to promote the progress of music among us. By giving elementary instruction to all the children of the city, — and nearly all enjoy it now, — the whole musical talent of the place will be discovered; and those who have the best powers for the study, and the strongest inclination for it, will have the means to cultivate the talents which, but for these early opportunities, would long have continued unknown to themselves as well as others. The taste of all will likewise be somewhat cultivated; and those who do not prove proficients in the practice, will still have knowledge enough to understand what kinds of music are best worthy attention, and who is best able to perform them. We shall therefore, in a few years, it is to be hoped, overcome the Bœotian ignorance on the subject of music, which, we lament to say, has hitherto characterized our community, and which we fear still prevails in many parts of the country. This can only be done by educating the mass of the population, by making music, as Mr. Davis expresses it, "the property of the whole people." Heretofore instruction has been confined to the very limited number of the daughters of the rich, who could be taught, by some half dozen professors, good, bad, and indifferent, to strike the keys of the piano, or sound the notes of a song. It was impossible this should ever develope the musical faculties of the people; and we should have continued liable to the mistaken imputation of being singularly wanting in musical taste, had it not been for the exertions of the Academy. By them has public attention been roused to the subject, and parents and children alike interested in the progress of the art.

It would have been impossible for the Academy thus to cause the introduction of the study of vocal music into the schools, on a systematic and useful plan, had it not been for the previous labors of Mr. Woodbridge, who translated some of the best German elementary works on the subject, and of Mr. Mason, who from them prepared the "Manual" of the Academy, a work unsurpassed in simplicity, clearness,

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and method. It would also, in all probability, have been delayed to a much later period, had it not been for the pains taken by the President of the Academy to bring the subject properly before the civic authorities. He had a favorable opportunity to do this, as chairman of the School Committee of Boston, and he never relaxed his efforts, till, in the autumn of 1837, the board was induced, in conformity with the views presented in the admirable and unanswerable report of Mr. Davis, to order its introduction as a part of the regular system of instruction in the public schools. From the beginning of 1838 to the present time, such instruction has been uninterruptedly given, and will, we trust, continue to be given while the public schools shall last.

The professors of the Academy, meanwhile, were actively engaged in their department of this effort for the public good; and prepared in rapid succession a number of musical works adapted to the wants of the growing number of those pursuing the art; and little song-books for children, glees, songs, and other pieces for older voices, and for family use, choruses for choirs, and sacred music for churches were brought out, by Messrs. Mason and Webb, in quick succession. The greatest care was taken that the moral and religious character of all these works should be unexceptionable. Mr. Eliot again contributed his efforts in this sphere, by giving to the Academy a translation of Schiller's "Song of the Bell," adapted to the interesting music of Romberg, and preparing some other little pieces of a similar kind. In short, the activity of the Academy was great, and it excited a corresponding activity in others. The spirit of competition was roused, and it would have been well, if the spirit of jealousy had not been roused with it. But, from whatever reason, new societies of various kinds were formed, and some of them gave private concerts, as they were called, though attended by a thousand people or more, and the older societies were stimulated to new efforts in the cause. The evidence of increased interest in music in the public generally, is the greatly increased attendance on the vast number of concerts now given. At all this we rejoice greatly; and shall rejoice still more if the example of what has been done here should stimulate other places to do likewise. The way is now pointed out, and the effects already visible of the experiment begun here, promise much greater fruit in time to come. We are happy to

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learn that academies of Music have been established in some other cities, and that in at least one town in this Commonwealth, music is beginning to be a branch of elementary education. When any great public improvement is begun, we cannot help thinking it of some importance to observe from what quarter the impulse comes, and under whose guidance it is likely to go forward. And it is a happy omen for the good results to be derived from this change in the musical taste and habits of the people, that one of the strong motives of those who originated the plan of the Academy, was the improvement of church music; and that their well established character is a sufficient guaranty, that whatever receives their sanction will be of a pure and elevated class of compositions.

There is only one evil of which we are apprehensive, and that is disunion. The efforts of all ought to be combined, as far as possible. Great effects can be produced by combination alone, especially in music, where, as we have remarked, there is a place for every one, and there ought to be one for every place. But Yankees are too apt to be of the same mind with Satan, and think it "better to reign in hell, than serve in heaven." They will even fall into the pandemonium of contention, jealousy, and separation, in musical associations, provided each little coterie may fill its own little world, and not be subject to any higher power. In the multitude of societies there will not be half the progress, though there will be, perhaps, double the motion, that there would be in one well organized association. The constitution of the Academy seems to us the best we know of, where the financial and prudential concerns of the society are in one set of hands, and the musical department in another. This gives a separation of duties, and a union of interests, which is far better for the public, and for individuals, than where the desire of attainment in art, and the wish to gain temporary popularity and pecuniary advantages may come in conflict, and embarrass the course of those who have the control of all departments.

We were much pleased to see, in one of the late numbers of Mr. Hach's Magazine, a project for interesting an association of literary men in the practice of music. Literature is intimately connected with it, and none but cultivated minds can appreciate and properly enjoy the highest musical effects. But a society of merely literary men is not apt to be a very efficient means of producing any result; while the combination of literary, educated, and practical men is the very best that

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has ever yet been devised. Above all, the hearty, cordial coöperation of numbers is desirable ; and mutual jealousy, and the desire to shine at each other's expense, is especially lamentable in the culture of this divine art. Union is strength in music as well as in politics.

We have mentioned what we deem the most important events which have led to the state of things now existing at the place where we write. Other circumstances have, however, contributed to the same end, more or less directly. Particularly have great numbers of persons been enlightened on the subject of the power of the art, and the effects that may be produced by it, by the visits of some very accomplished musicians, both vocal and instrumental. The little corps of Italian singers, Montresor and others, who were here five or six years ago, the brothers Hermann, Mrs. Wood, Caradori, and Braham have given specimens of exquisite skill in the vocal department, while Seitz, and Rakeman, and Kossowsky have given us an idea of what is meant by brilliant, finished, and expressive performance on various instruments. The Prague band and the Rainer family have shown how much can be effected by mere precision in the performance of music of either kind, without any remarkable degree of refinement or expression. The popular favor which attended the dramatic performances of Mrs. Wood, in particular, gave many persons an interest in the art which she practised with such great effect. The result of all these visits is, that people understand better than before how far we are behind other countries in musical attainments, how great is the charm of the art, and how important are study and practice before we begin to boast of our proficiency.*

Another circumstance which we regard as having been at once an indication and a means of progress, is the establishment of several musical periodicals. All have contributed, or are likely, we think, to contribute, their share towards directing

* It is scarcely probable that any one would now repeat the avowal made to us five or six years ago by a very worthy citizen, at one of the performances of the Handel and Haydn Society, that "he did not believe there was a place in the world where music of equal excellence could be given by the same class of persons." It is pretty generally understood now, that throughout Germany and Italy at least, to say nothing of other countries, there is not a town of half the size of Boston, where a far more difficult style of music than any practised here is not familiar to a much greater proportion of the population ; and that there is scarcely an obscure village of the Tyrol, that cannot send us a little band of singers that put all our own to shame, by the accuracy and precision with which they sing their simple songs.

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the public interest to the subject, and forming the public taste. We cannot but esteem Mr. Hach's "Musical Magazine," however, as the most important, as it has been longest established, and is edited by a gentleman of rare and thorough acquaintance with the theory and practice of music, and conducted with an independence as honorable to him as it is important to the cause. The criticisms are doubtless somewhat stern; and sometimes we think too little allowance is made for peculiar difficulties, and too little encouragement given for attainments actually made. But it is far better to err on this side than on that of complaisance to individuals or societies, who will be ready enough, we may be sure, to flatter themselves, without help from the critic.

The following extract from Mr. Davis's report expresses, with much force, views and wishes in which we cordially sympathize with him.

"What is the great object of our system of popular instruction? Are our schools mere houses of Correction, in which animal nature is to be kept in subjection by the law of brute force and the stated drudgery of distasteful tasks? Not so. They have a nobler office. They are valuable mainly as a preparation and a training of the young spirit for usefulness and happiness in coming life. Now the defect of our present system, admirable as that system is, is this, that it aims to develope the intellectual part of man's nature solely, when, for all the true purposes of life, it is of more importance, a hundred fold, to feel rightly, than to think profoundly. Besides, human life must and ought to have its amusements. We cannot bring up a race upon Lyceum Lectures solely, wholesome though that food may be. Man must have agreeable excitement. There will be recreation when the toils of the day are ended. What shall that recreation be? So far then as human life is concerned, properly to direct the feelings and amusements, belongs to every system which aspires to the name and character of a wise system of Public Education. An initiation in the elements of vocal music at school, in the opinion of your Committee, seems best fitted to supply that direction. 'Music,' says a modern German writer, 'is the gymnastics of the affections.' Music and the love of it have been and may be perverted, — who knows it not? Guard it therefore, guide it, lead it into the right channels. But be not guilty of the illogical deduction of arguing from the occasional abuse of one of God's best gifts to its disuse. No. Let all parents understand that every pure and refined pleasure for which a child acquires a relish, is, to that extent, a safeguard

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and preservative against a low and debasing one. Music, when kept to its legitimate uses, calls forth none but the better feelings of our nature. In the language of an illustrious writer of the 17th century, 'Music is a thing that delighteth all ages and beseemeth all states, a thing as seasonable in grief as joy, as decent being added to actions of greatest solemnity, as being used when men sequester themselves from actions.' If such be the natural effects of music, if it enliven prosperity or soothe sorrow, if it quicken the pulses of social happiness, if it can fill the vacancy of an hour that would otherwise be listlessly or unprofitably spent, if it gild with a mild light the checkered scenes of daily existence, why then limit its benign and blessed influence? Let it, with healing on its wings, enter through ten thousand avenues the paternal dwelling. Let it mingle with religion, with labor, with the home-bred amusements and innocent enjoyments of life. Let no longer be regarded merely as the ornament of the rich. Still let it continue to adorn the abodes of wealth, but let it also light up with gladness the honest hearth of poverty. Once introduce vocal music into the common schools, and you make it what it should be made, the property of the whole people. And so as time passes away, and one race succeeds to another, the true object of our system of Public Education may be realized, and we may, year after year, raise up good citizens to the Commonwealth, by sending forth from our schools, happy, useful, well instructed, contented members of society.

"The subject, in this connexion, swells into one of national universality and importance. There are said to be, at this time, not far from eighty thousand common schools in this country, in which are to be found the people who in coming years will mould the character of this democracy. If vocal music were generally adopted as a branch of instruction in these schools, it might be reasonably expected that in at least two generations we should be changed into a musical people. The great point to be considered in reference to the introduction of vocal music into popular elementary instruction is, that thereby you set in motion a mighty power which silently, but surely in the end, will humanize, refine, and elevate a whole community. Music is one of the fine arts. It therefore deals with abstract beauty, and so lifts man to the source of all beauty, from finite to infinite, and from the world of matter, to the world of spirits and to God. Music is the great handmaid of civilization. Whence come these traditions of a reverend antiquity, seditions quelled, cures wrought, fleets and armies governed by the force of song, — whence that responding of rocks, woods, and trees to the harp of Orpheus,— whence

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a city's walls uprising beneath the wonder-working touches of Apollo's lyre? These, it is true, are fables, yet they shadow forth, beneath the veil of allegory, a profound truth. They beautifully proclaim the mysterious union between music, as an instrument of man's civilization, and the soul of man. Prophets and wise men, large-minded lawgivers of an olden time, understood and acted on this truth. The ancient oracles were uttered in song. The laws of the twelve tables were put to music, and got by heart at school. Minstrel and sage, are in some languages, convertible terms. Music is allied to the highest sentiments of man's moral nature, love of God, love of country, love of friends. Woe to the nation in which these sentiments are allowed to go to decay! What tongue can tell the unutterable energies that reside in these three engines, Church Music, National Airs, and Fireside Melodies, as means of informing and enlarging the mighty heart of a free people!"

ART. IV. — *The History of Harvard University*, by JOSIAH QUINCY, LL. D., President of the University. Cambridge: John Owen. 1840. Royal 8vo. Vol. I. and II. pp. 612, 728.

ON the 8th day of September, 1836, *came off* one of the most interesting public celebrations that have occurred in this commemorative time. Fourteen or fifteen hundred graduates of the oldest of the higher schools of instruction in this country, the University at Cambridge,* in Massachusetts, met within its walls, to notice, with suitable solemnities and festivity, the completion of the second century since its foundation.

* The President calls his work a History of "*Harvard University.*" The designation is partly matter of taste, and as this, we confess, does not suit ours, we hope it will not pass into established use. The corporation whose legal style is *The President and Fellows of Harvard College* are the legal Trustees and Governors of the University at Cambridge, now constituted of that College, and of the recently established colleges of Medicine, Divinity, and Law. But it strikes us that there is a propriety in restricting the name of *Harvard* to the ancient academical school, while the Law College bears the name of *Dane*, the Medical, that of *Massachusetts*, and the Divinity College awaits its designation from some future patron. The title and text of chapter V. of the Constitution of Massachusetts (the highest form of legal authority, both recite the name of the *University at Cambridge.* They speak of Harvard College as identical with it, as, in a certain sense, it then was; but of *Harvard University* they do not speak.

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The arrangements had been made in the most judicious and thorough manner, and nothing was wanting of all that heart could wish, to do justice to so delightful an occasion. Early in the forenoon, the Alumni and their guests had assembled in the halls of the University ;

"There were venerable and reverend divines, — grave and dignified judges, — statesmen and lawyers, — learned, intellectual, and eminent men of other professions and pursuits in life,— exchanging cordial salutations after years of separation. There were the young and ardent, looking forward in imagination to a brilliant future, and men of maturer age pleased with the retrospection of the past. The greetings of companions of early days, the efforts at recognition, the fond and fervent recollections not untinged with melancholy, which the meeting occasioned, the inquiries more implied than uttered after the absent, the inquisitive glances, rather than words, by which each seemed to ask of the other's welfare, constituted a scene not to be forgotten by any individual who witnessed it." — Vol. II. pp. 646, 647.

"When the Chief Marshal [in forming the procession to the church] named the classes of the Alumni, it was deeply interesting to mark the result. The class of 1759 was called, but their only representative, and the eldest surviving Alumnus, Judge Wingate, of New Hampshire, being ninety-six years of age, was unable to attend. The classes from 1763 to 1773 were successively named, but solemn pauses succeeded ; they had all joined the great company of the departed, or, sunk in the vale of years, were unable to attend the high festival of their Alma Mater. At length, when the class of 1774 was named, Mr. Samuel Emery came forward ; a venerable old man, a native of Chatham, Barnstable County, Massachusetts, who, at the age of eighty-six, after an absence of sixty years from the Halls of Harvard, had come from his residence in Philadelphia to attend this celebration. The Rev. Dr. Ripley, of Concord, of the class of 1776, and the Rev. Dr. Homer, of Newton, of the class of 1777, were followed by the Rev. Dr. Bancroft, of Worcester, and the Rev. Mr. Willis, of Kingston, of the class of 1778 ; and, as modern times were approached, instead of solitary individuals, twenty or thirty members of a class appeared at the summons." — *Ibid.*, p. 648.

In the church, an historical discourse was pronounced by the President, and appropriate prayers were offered by two of the oldest clerical graduates. The company next proceeded to a pavilion, where tables were spread, at which Gov-

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ernor Everett presided. An extract or two from his speech in introducing the after-dinner transactions, will convey some idea of the spirit of the occasion.

"Brethren, there were some recollections of the early history of the College which I intended to recall to you, but our worthy President has taken all that ground from beneath me. He has reaped the field, and left nothing for the gleaner. In fact, it is an occasion when, oppressed by the multitude of thick-coming fancies that crowd upon the mind, one is far less inclined to speak than to muse. An ingenious and accomplished Italian writer has constructed a kind of philosophical romance on the idea, that the whole Roman world of ancient times, the emperors, consuls, and tribunes, the poets, the orators, the great and wise of every generation, had appeared to him, in shadowy conclave, at the newly discovered sepulchre of the Scipios, and wandered under his guidance over the ancient and modern city. As the long procession of the Alumni swept through the academic grounds this morning, extending from one extremity of the time-hallowed precincts to the other, one could almost fancy that he saw also the mighty congregation, the three thousand, of the departed, (with old President Dunster at their head, starting from the tomb in yonder graveyard, in which, as you told us, Mr. President, it was his dying request to be deposited,) return to take their station in front of the train. They dwelt in yonder halls, they walked these pleasant fields, their minds were trained up under the influences which still hover in the air; is it much to fancy that they had come back to join us in these festivities? Yes, brethren, but little less than five thousand four hundred alumni have received the honors of Harvard College. It has stood for more than six generations; by far the oldest institution of this character in the United States. It has stood unchanged, except to be enlarged and improved, and reared its modest head amidst the storms which convulsed alike the mother country and the colonies. Neither the straits and perils of the infant settlement, nor the harassing Indian and French wars, nor the political vicissitudes, the sectarian feuds, the neglect, the indifference, or hostility of England toward America, the trials of peace or of war, essentially obstructed the steady course of its usefulness. It has adapted itself, in each succeeding period, to the wants and calls of the age, as they have been felt and understood, and has sent out generation after generation in the various professions, in the active and contemplative callings, in the higher and the humbler paths of life, to serve and adorn the country. The village schoolmaster, the rural physician, lawyer, and

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clergyman, — ministers all of unambitious good, — not less than those whom Providence calls to the most arduous and responsible posts, have been trained within its walls. They have come up here for instruction, have received it, have gone forth, and have passed away ; the children have occupied the halls which the fathers occupied before them, and both have been mingled with the dust ; and here the College, which guided them all till they were ready to launch on the ocean of life, still stands like a Pharos founded on a sea-girt rock. The moss of time gathers on it ; the waters heave and break upon its base; the tempest beats upon its sides; but in vain. Sometimes its lofty tower is reflected fathom-deep in the glassy summer sea, and sometimes covered with the foaming surge, which combs and curls from its foundation, and breaks in a vaulting flood over its summit. Unquenched and steady it shines alike through the tempest and the zephyr. Convoys sweep by it, guided by its beams to fortune or disaster, but its light never wavers. The hand that kindles it fails, but another and another renews its beams. Useful alike to small and to great, the poor fisherman marks its friendly ray from afar, as he shoots out at dusk to try the fortune of a lonely evening hour upon his favorite ledge ; and the mighty admiral descries it, through the parting thunder-clouds of midnight battle, and fearlessly braces his straining canvass to the gale.' "— *Ibid.*, pp. 652 – 654.

" ' If, in any other quarter of the globe, it has been objected to seats of learning, that they nourish a spirit of dependence on power, such has never been the reproach of our Alma Mater. Owing much, at every period before the Revolution, to the munificence of individuals in the mother country, it never was indebted to the Crown for a dollar or a book. No court favor was ever bestowed, and no court lesson ever learned. Generation after generation went forth from her lecture-rooms, armed in all the panoply of truth, to wage the battles of principle, alike under the old charter and the new ; and, when the fullness of time was come, and the great contest approached, the first note of preparation was sounded from Harvard Hall. Yes, before the Stamp Act was passed ; yes, before Committees of Correspondence were established throughout the colonies; before Otis had shaken the courts with his forensic thunders ; before a breath of defiance had whispered along the arches of Faneuil Hall, a graduate of Harvard College announced in his Thesis, on Commencement day, the whole doctrine of the Revolution. Yes, in the very dawn of independence, while the lions of the land yet lay slumbering in the long shadows of the throne, an eaglet, bred in the delicate air of freedom which fanned the academic groves, had, from his " coigne

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of vantage" on yonder tower, drunk the first rosy sparkle of the sun of liberty into his calm, undazzled eye, and whetted his talons for the conflict. Within the short space of twenty-three years, there were graduated at Harvard College six men, who exercised an influence over the country's destinies, which no time shall outlive. Within that brief period, there were sent forth from yonder walls, James Otis, John Hancock, Joseph Warren, Josiah Quincy, — besides Samuel and John Adams, "*geminos duo fulmina belli.*"'" — *Ibid.*, p. 658.

There is an exuberance in these passages, no doubt; but their effect, when pronounced, was such as is rarely seen equalled. Other eminent *alumni*, with some distinguished strangers, their guests, contributed their gifts of speech to the pleasure of the occasion, and the day was closed with an illumination of the College edifices, and of other principal buildings of the town.

The time occupied by the President with his Address in the church was necessarily insufficient for an exhibition of the history of the two centuries which had elapsed, and his sketch was for the most part confined to the time preceding the accession of President Leverett, in 1708. It accordingly extended only through part of the second of the periods indicated in the following division;

"'The events which have affected the fortunes of Harvard College, during the last two centuries, may be advantageously arranged and considered, in relation to four great periods; each embracing about fifty years. The first period terminates with the College charter, granted in 1692 by the first Provincial legislature, assembled under the charter of King William and Queen Mary. The second extends from this time to the accession of Holyoke to the presidency, in 1736. The third includes the succeeding years to the accession of Willard, in 1780. The fourth embraces the time subsequent.

"'During the first period, the College was conducted as a theological institution, in strict coincidence with the nature of the political constitution of the colony; having religion for its basis and chief object. Although the charter of the College gave it no sectarian bias, it was, without question, regarded by both the clergy and the politicians of the period, as an instrument destined to promote and perpetuate the religious opinions predominating at the time. The seminary, during this period, will be seen amidst poverty and suffering; depending for its existence on a precarious, and often a penurious, benev-

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olence ; soliciting aid, and repulsed ; in want, and its own funds withheld ; in distress, and relief denied or postponed ; sometimes tossed on the waves of political, sometimes on those of religious controversy, and, amidst the conflicts of both, raising as high as the times required, or its resources permitted, the standard of the literature of the country.

" ' In the second period, bitter controversies will be found springing up between those religious parties, into which the Congregational sect divided immediately after the new principle of political power introduced by the charter of William and Mary had deprived it of that supremacy, which the old charter had secured to the Congregational clergy. Of these the College was often the field and sometimes the object. In consequence, its sky was occasionally obscured, and its progress embarrassed. It regularly, however, advanced under new and not inferior auspices. High Calvinists, indeed, regarded it with diminishing favor, and even began to look elsewhere for instruments to propagate their sentiments and extend their power. But new friends to it arose ; its usefulness became acknowledged ; and its resources increased.

" ' In the third period, the divisions of the Congregational sect grew wider and more marked. They prosecuted their animosities, notwithstanding, with a subdued temper, partly from experience of the unprofitableness of such controversies, and partly from a fear, entertained in common by all the parties formed out of those divisions, of the increasing power of the Episcopalian sect ; which, at this time, began to display its standard with great boldness; supported by the favor and funds of the transatlantic hierarchy. While the leaders of each division were actually engaged in one common cause, they naturally composed or treated with a politic tenderness, their mutual differences. The political aspect of affairs began also, early in this period, to foretell the coming revolutionary tempest. Amid the preparations for the contest, which led to national independence, religious animosities were suspended ; nor was their voice heard during the din and excitement of that struggle. In the mean time the College was permitted to remain in a state of comparative tranquillity ; viewed, indeed, by some of the Calvinistic sect with coldness and jealousy, and its officers charged by some with being Arminians, and even suspected of more fearful heresies. Embracing, however, as the College did with equal warmth and openness, the cause of American Independence, it at the same time acquired a well-deserved popularity, and shared, in common with all the other institutions of the country, the pecuniary losses and embarrassment consequent on that contest.

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"'During the fourth and last period, extending to our own time, the College, now raised to the rank of a University, partook with the country at large, of the vicissitudes following the war, and subsequently of the prosperity, which ensued upon the adoption of the federal Constitution, and on an orderly arrangement of State and national affairs.'" — Vol. I. pp. 3 – 5.

That account of the College, which its children and friends have impatiently desired, and which it was out of the question to attempt in two hours of speech, the President has now presented in two splendid volumes of letter-press. Before proceeding to speak of their contents, we must not fail to discharge our consciences by one word of tribute to the beauty of their mechanical execution. As far as we know, nothing in a style of such completeness and luxury has before proceeded from the American press. The very paper, — not made of what is called in the trade *linen stock*, but every inch of it of veritable flax, — is worthy to bear the tasteful and almost immaculate typography. Such a specimen of art is to be welcomed not only for the pleasure it gives to the eye, but because, everywhere, where there are men of taste, it speaks for the honor of the country that has produced it. Nay; let us have our books well printed, to the end that we may have them well written. A writer, not shameless, will be apt to think twice before he commits his thoughts to such a magnificent vehicle. We see pages, whose slovenly manufacture is an intimation that the authors can have felt no scruple about filling them with trash. To dress in one's best, on the contrary, is, for composition as well as for men, a kind of pledge to the public of putting one's self on good behaviour.

The 8th day of September, 1836, was fixed upon for the commemoration of the foundation of Harvard College, as being the two hundredth anniversary of the meeting of that General Court of the colony of Massachusetts Bay, in the records of whose proceedings stands the following entry;

"The Court agreed to give four hundred pounds toward a School or College, whereof two hundred pounds shall be paid the next year, and two hundred pounds when the work is finished, and the next Court to appoint where and what building."

This appropriation, "equal to a year's rent of the whole colony," was made under the following circumstances;

"They waited not for days of affluence, of peace, or even

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of domestic concord. The first necessities of civilized man, food, raiment, and shelter, had scarcely been provided; civil government and the worship of God had alone been instituted, when the great interests of education engaged their attention. Their zeal was not repressed by the narrowness of their territorial limits, not yet extending thirty miles on the seacoast, nor twenty into the interior; nor yet by the terror of a savage enemy, threatening the very existence of the settlement; nor by the claims on their scanty resources, which an impending Indian war created; nor by the smallness of their numbers, certainly then not exceeding five thousand families; nor yet by the most unhappy and most ominous to their tranquillity of all, the religious disputes, in which they were ever implicated." —*Ibid.*, p. 7.

The next year, the General Court determined the site of the proposed school, by appointing a Committee of twelve leading men "to take order for a College at *Newtown*," the name of which town was soon after changed to *Cambridge*, in compliment to the *Alma Mater* of many of the early colonists.* In 1638, John Harvard, a dissenting minister, who had recently emigrated to Charlestown, bequeathed by will to the College his library, and one half of his other property; that half amounting, as has been differently understood, to four hundred, or to eight hundred pounds. The College went into operation the same year, and the first class, consisting of nine members, (one of them the afterwards famous or infamous George Downing, of *Commonwealth* memory,) finished its course of instruction in 1642. The example of Harvard excited to other private benefactions. Numbers gave, in the measure of their unanimous good-will, and of their unequal means. The magistrates made a subscription among themselves of two hundred pounds for the library. The towns brought their separate contributions; the richer sort of people gave their twenty or thirty pounds each; the poorer their five or ten shillings. One sends his two cows, valued at nine pounds; another, nine shillings in cotton cloth; one, "a fruit-dish, sugar-spoon, and silver-tipt jug;" another, "one pewter flagon, valued at ten shillings." The Commissioners of the United Colonies, on the urgent application of Dunster in 1651,

* According to our curiously accurate historian, Mr. Savage, there were, in 1638, not less than forty or fifty sons of the English University of Cambridge, resident in the settlements of New England.

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promised "to propound to the several Colonies, to give some yearly help, by pecks, half-bushels, and bushels, of wheat."

The first master, Nathaniel Eaton, proved unsuitable to his place, and was dismissed after two years' trial. Of some of his misdemeanors (which are passed over by the President), as well as of those of his wife, a sufficient account may be found by the curious reader in the Appendix to Peirce's "History of Harvard University." Eaton was succeeded in 1640 by Henry Dunster, who first took the title of "President"; and Dunster, after fourteen years' service, gave place to Charles Chauncy, who died in the office after an administration of eighteen years. Both the first Presidents, clergymen in England before their emigration, were men of excellent abilities and character, and eminent in the learning of the time. Both lived pinched by wants which the penury of the infant settlement could not, or did not properly relieve, and both, — a coincidence more remarkable, — made a heavy demand on whatever of the spirit of toleration belonged to their associates, by reason of their notorious heresies on the subject of baptism. Dunster, by his stubbornness in this respect, wore out his popularity, and was worried into a resignation. He died at Scituate, the same good and meek man that he had lived, bequeathing his body to the burying-ground by the College, and naming his successor in the Presidency, and the Cambridge minister, who had been at all pains for his ejection, "appraisers of his library," some of the books, he says, "being in languages, whereof common Englishmen know not one letter." Thus it must be owned that the lot of the first laborers on our *rerum pulcherrima* was no better than (to use language of the President) "thankless labor, unrequited service, arrearages unpaid, posthumous applause, a doggerel dirge, and a Latin epitaph." The College, however, they did excellently well establish; and this they would have thought, and might well think, enough to live for, though they had died in the woods, and been buried in a ditch, and not a Latin period had been turned in their praise. The spot in "God's acre" at Cambridge, that holds the sacred dust of Dunster, is unknown. A modest monument guides the pilgrim's feet to the resting-place of what was mortal of Chauncy.

The administrations of Hoar, Oakes, and Rogers, — all of

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short duration, and marked by no events of particular interest, — succeeded, and were followed by that of Increase Mather, which lasted fifteen years, and closed the century.

In treating of the times of President Mather and his son, — who, though he never attained the presidency, was always expecting it, and was sometimes very near it,—Mr. Quincy is led to many curious details respecting the movements and men of the day in the religious and political circles of this "outside of the world." The Mather blood was undoubtedly of very peculiar composition, and he has good powers of analysis who can point out its elements. Increase Mather was not only by nature an extraordinary man, — that his son was too, and in a still higher degree, — but an extremely able one. In temper he was arrogant, ambitious, vain, and irritable, and he was a believer in all the superstitions of the day; but in book-learning, in knowledge of affairs, in activity, energy, even in practical address and wisdom, and in power of influencing the minds of men, he was far enough from being deficient. His position was one, the like of which man never held before nor since. He was the head of the New England clergy, and accordingly the head of the old political interest, at the time when the rising colonies first attracted particular attention from the government at home, and when the progress of new views in religion and politics had unsettled the foundations of the old *régime*. It would be wrong to say that he was too impracticable to accommodate himself to the new state of things. He could, and did, — though, it is true, with no little struggle, and with no good grace, — particularly in the most important, and (at the time) most unpopular act of his life. Odd as the comparison may seem, Increase Mather was the Henry Clay of his day, the Great Pacificator, the author of the great Compromise Act. On his embassy to England, to look after the safety of the old charter, when threatened by William and Mary, he went the very impersonation of the highest notions of clerical prerogative. Under that charter, the rights of citizenship being vested in church members, who became such by the consent of the ministers, the ministers were the virtual rulers of the country; and yet Mather, jealous champion of clerical rights as he was, consented to take another charter making the elective franchise to depend on a property qualification, besides vesting the appointment of the governor in the Crown. His popularity

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never recovered from the shock. Plymouth could not forgive him the offence of annexing it to its more powerful neighbour. The more liberal party in religion had always held him in particular dislike; the stricter now regarded him as a traitor to their cause; while all alike were indignant at no longer having "their rulers from themselves, and their governors from the midst of them."

But what Mather did, in this instance, was done for the best. Perhaps it would be too much to suppose him to have seen, — what however was true, — that the old charter ought not to be confirmed. But he saw that it was out of the question to suppose that it would be. He knew that the feeble colony was not ripe for an assertion of independence, and that, if it was ever to become so, it must be through a period of security acquired by a peaceable settlement under the government of the mother country. Like a wise man, not being able to get what he wished, he took up with what he could get. Cooke, his associate, came back to be loaded with praises for an impracticableness, which, had it not been overruled, would have ended in some much more meagre grant of privileges, or in leaving the Colony, without legal protection, to the mercy of some future ignorant or capricious wearer of the Crown; and the Plymouth messenger to King William, who was so much annoyed by the arrogant antics of *the Bay horse*, would, without doubt, if more judicious and conciliating counsels had not prevailed, have returned to his home to see it passing not under the congenial sway of English Puritan Massachusetts, but under that of semi-Dutch New York. It is no new thing under the sun for a man, taking easy counsel of his passions and prejudices, to behave very foolishly on many of the smaller occasions of life, while in the more important he conducts himself with wisdom and temper; and so did President Mather on that occasion, the results of which, — for want of power, on his part, to keep up the same tone of feeling, — broke him down, for the rest of his life, into something like the attitude of an unquiet and impotent grumbler.

Increase Mather, under strong solicitation, had consented to honor the College, and benefit the Colony, by filling the Presidential chair. But it was only as a sort of joint stool to his parochial seat in Boston. He refused to reside, and was President after his own manner and liking, riding over as

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often as he might, or pleased, from town, to see how matters went on at the College, under the care of Tutors Leverett and Brattle. Though occasionally, there was scruple and complaint, on the whole, things proceeded to a charm, as long as "all that David did pleased the people." But when the days of unpopularity came, it came to be seen with new clearness, that the good of the institution required a present head, and that the incumbent ought to reside or resign. With many misgivings, the authorities came to this conclusion; with many more, they worked themselves up to an intimation of it; and after all, they found that but a small part of their work was done. The President had been Dictator long enough to esteem it his particular charge to see that the republic should receive no detriment. It was a weary while before they could make him understand them; it was longer yet, before they could bring him to perceive that what they thought or willed was any serious concern of his. Sometimes he argued the case with them, not always with the appearance of any anxiety to produce conviction; sometimes he filed away their resolutions, and there, for the present, was an end of the matter; sometimes he said he should resign, and they waited in patient courtesy to see it done; once he quieted every thing by moving to Cambridge, and moved back again within a few weeks. At last, a strong vote made the decision unavoidable between the place of College governor and parish priest, and the President made a merit of his spirit of accommodation, and withdrew. His cup was not full. He was compelled to see, with astonished eyes, that he had held the sceptre in "an unlineal hand, no son of his succeeding." What was sadder yet, he was forced to behold the College pass under the care of that innovating party in religion, of which he had always been the indefatigable foe. And what was bitterest of all, as being most in the nature of a sign how his old consideration had waned, he had to learn that he had been gotten rid of by a no longer veiled pretence. Another Boston minister, placed in the vacant chair, was permitted to remain in the service of his church. The law requiring the President to reside, to which Mather had been obliged to succumb, was neither broken nor repealed; but wherever there is a will, there is a way, and Willard, Mather's successor, under the anomalous title of *Vice-President*,

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lived in Boston, and governed the College to the end of his days.

The character of Increase Mather is no such riddle as that of Cotton, his son, and colleague in the pastoral charge. Never surely was there so liberal an infusion of the weak and ridiculous into a mind possessed of singular gifts. We have lately treated the subject at some length,* and we do not care again to go about to solve the strange problems of his genius and behaviour. In respect to his connexion with the witchcraft delusion, we cannot but think that the less severe view of Mr. Quincy is more just than that lately presented by Mr. Bancroft in his third volume. That Cotton Mather should be capable of almost any thing that puerile superstition, obstinate prejudice, or blind passion might prompt, we can well understand. But we do not see reason to convict him of having concocted, or entered into, so unspeakably atrocious a plot as that of exciting a terror of evil supernatural agency, and feeding and maddening that panic with so much innocent blood, for the distinct purpose of checking the progress of free inquiry in religion.

Such imperfect materials as remain for ascertaining the internal condition of the College, during the seventeenth century, Mr. Quincy has diligently collected.

"In relation to the course of studies, and the degree of literary instruction in the seminary during this period, little exact and authentic information exists. 'So much Latin as was sufficient to understand Tully, or any like classical author, and to make and speak true Latin, in prose and verse, and so much Greek as was included in declining perfectly the paradigms of the Greek nouns and verbs,' were the chief, if not the only requisites for admission. The exercises of the students had the aspect of a theological rather than a literary institution. They were practised twice a day in reading the Scriptures, giving an account of their proficiency and experience in practical and spiritual truths, accompanied by theoretical observations on the language, and logic, of the sacred writings. They were carefully to attend God's ordinances, and be examined on their profiting; commonplacing the sermons and repeating them publicly in the hall. The studies of the first year were 'logic, physics, etymology, syntax, and practice on the principles of grammar.' Those of the second year, 'ethics, politics, pros-

* See *North American Review*, Vol. LI. pp. 1 *et seq.*

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ody and dialects, practice of poesy, and Chaldee.' Those of the third, 'arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, exercises in style, composition, epitome, both in prose and verse, Hebrew, and Syriac.'

"In every year and every week of the College course, every class was practised in the Bible and catechetical divinity; also in history in the winter, and in the nature of plants in the summer. Rhetoric was taught by lectures in every year, and each student was required to declaim once a month.

"Such were the principles of education established in the College under the authority of Dunster. Nor does it appear, that they were materially changed during the whole of the seventeenth century." — Vol. I. pp. 190, 191.

* * * * *

"Discipline, unquestionably, partook of the austerity of the period, and was in harmony with the character of the early emigrants. Tradition represents it to have been severe, and corporal punishments to have been among the customary sanctions of College laws. The immediate government kept no record of their proceedings. The tutors chastised at discretion, and on very solemn occasions the Overseers were called together, either to authorize or to witness the execution of the severer punishments. Judge Sewall, in his Diary, relates an instance of the mode in which these were inflicted, illustrative of the manners of the age, and of the discipline of the College. It occurred in 1674. The offence was 'speaking blasphemous words.' After examination by the Corporation, the offence was submitted to the Overseers for advisement. The offender was sentenced to be 'publicly whipped before all the scholars,' to be 'suspended from taking his bachelor's degree,' and 'to sit alone by himself uncovered at meals during the pleasure of the President and Fellows,' to be obedient in all things, and, in default, to be finally expelled from the College. The execution of the sentence was no less characteristic than its nature. It was twice read publicly in the Library, in the presence of all the scholars, the government, and such of the Overseers as chose to attend. The offender having kneeled, the President prayed, after which the corporal punishment was inflicted; and the solemnities were closed by another prayer from the President." — *Ibid.*, pp. 188, 189.

The high personal qualifications of Vice-President Willard, combined with his relation to the religious parties, — sympathizing as he did with the stricter in theory, and with the more liberal in spirit, — enabled him to manage the institution to general satisfaction, till his death in 1707. He was succeeded by John Leverett, whose ac-

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cession to a place which he filled with eminent ability for seventeen years, constitutes one of the most memorable eras in the College history. Mr. Quincy speaks of his election as "the call of a *layman* to a chair, that had never before been occupied except by a clergyman." Leverett was a layman; but in a sense which leads to no such inference respecting a disposition on the part of the governors of the College to dispense with clerical qualifications in a President, as the naked statement of the fact might suggest. He had been a judge, a counsellor, and Speaker of the lower house; and for the academic robe he put off the uniform of lieutenant of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company. But all this was at a time when clerical offices were not considered so inconsistent with civil or even with military place, as now. It was still later than the time of his election to the Presidency, that Gurdon Saltonstall, a parish minister, was made Governor and Commander-in-chief of the Colony of Connecticut. Leverett had been bred a clergyman, and for several years of his early manhood, he had, while Tutor of the College, performed duties appropriate to the sacred office. He easily returned to them as President; nor can his elevation, under such circumstances, to that chair, be regarded as any substantial deviation, at so early a time, from the primitive usage.

Leverett was equal to the exigencies of his position, and they were of peculiar embarrassment. He came into place as the representative of less rigid notions in religion, which had long before been working their way, and which had received a new impulse, from the time when the new charter had dealt a mortal blow to the power of church-members, and, through them, of the clergy. The Mathers, who had not yet learned to be second to any one, or to be less than irreconcilable enemies to whoever was first, had ample means of annoyance within the reach of their talents, their professional and public standing, and their ancient associations with the College. Many of the leading men of the day were bigots to the waning form of faith, and its friends acted together with a union and confidence unknown to the rising party. Yale College in Connecticut was founded, in great part (as Mr. Quincy has shown), through the exertions of disaffected individuals in and about Boston. An attempt, long and vigorously urged, but unsuccessfully, was made to displace the President's associates in the Corporation, and to establish, as

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the true interpretation of the charter, the principle that only resident instructors were eligible to that trust. Through these, and many more difficulties, President Leverett steered the College forward on a prosperous course. He secured the patronage of the Legislature to an unprecedented extent for the institution, when he could not secure their favor for himself. At a time of general embarrassment, when the wars of Queen Anne had laid heavy burdens on the public treasury, and the easy resource of irredeemable paper money was working its usual mischiefs, the Province made its "deep poverty abound to the riches of its liberality," and, at the cost of three thousand five hundred pounds, erected for the institution its third building, *Massachusetts Hall*, the oldest now standing. One of the largest fountains of that stream of private munificence which has since poured upon the College, was then also opened in the bounty of the Hollis family, of London; Thomas Hollis, in addition to other noble donations, having founded the first two Professorships, those of Divinity and Mathematics. The instruction had all been conducted heretofore by the President and Tutors.

Cotton Mather's hopes of the Presidency were very tenacious of life, and his discontent was extreme, when, after Leverett's death, three other Boston clergymen, — Sewall, Colman, and Wadsworth, the last of whom accepted the place, — were successively preferred to himself.

"'This day,' he writes [in his diary], 'Dr. Sewall was chosen President *for his piety.*'

"In another place he thus gives scope to his feelings; 'I am informed that yesterday the six men who call themselves the Corporation of the College met, and, contrary to the epidemical expectation of the country, chose a modest young man, of whose piety (and little else) every one gives a laudable character.

"'I always foretold these two things of the Corporation; first, that, if it were possible for them to steer clear of me, they will do so; secondly, that, if it were possible for them to act foolishly, they will do so.

"'The perpetual envy with which my essays to serve the kingdom of God are treated among them, and the dread that Satan has of my beating up his quarters at the College, led me into the former sentiment; the marvellous indiscretion, with which the affairs of the College are managed, led me into the latter.'" — Vol. I. pp. 330, 331.

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We extract a few passages illustrative of the methods of correction, and other academical usages, of this period.

"Previous to the accession of Leverett to the presidency, the practice of obliging the undergraduates to read portions of the Scriptures from Latin or English into Greek, at morning and evening service, had been discontinued. But in January and May, 1708, this 'ancient and laudable practice was revived' by the Corporation. At morning prayers all the undergraduates were ordered, beginning with the youngest, to read a verse out of the Old Testament from the Hebrew into Greek, except the Freshmen, who were permitted to use their English Bibles in this exercise; and, at evening service, to read from the New Testament out of the English or Latin translation into Greek, whenever the President performed this service in the Hall.

"Early in the presidency of Wadsworth this exercise was again discontinued, and ordered to be performed by the classes at the chambers of their respective tutors.

"The morning service began with a short prayer; then a chapter of the Old Testament was read, which the President expounded, and concluded with prayer. The evening service was the same, except that the chapter read was from the New Testament, and on Saturday a psalm was sung in the Hall. On Sunday exposition was omitted; a psalm was sung morning and evening; and one of the scholars, in course, was called upon to repeat, in the evening, the sermons preached on that day. On the Sabbath, public worship was attended in the parish church, where the undergraduates occupied the front gallery; and none were excused on account of difference in religious sentiment.

"President Wadsworth in his Diary states, that he expounded the Scriptures, once eleven, and sometimes eight or nine times, in the course of a week. The President's duty embraced these exercises, general inspection of the conduct and morals of the students, presiding at the meetings of the Corporation and immediate government, recording their proceedings, and attending the meetings of the Overseers. He was occasionally present at the weekly declamations and public disputations, and then acted as moderator; an office, which, in his absence, was filled by one of the Tutors.

"The College course occupied four years, and the undergraduates were divided and distinguished as at present, into four classes, Senior Sophisters, Junior Sophisters, Sophomores, and Freshmen. The Freshmen class were servitors to the whole College out of study hours, to go on errands. Every

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student, on admission, was required to copy out and subscribe the College laws.

"The regular exercises are thus stated in an official report, made in 1726, by Tutors Flynt, Welsteed, and Prince.

"'1. While the students are Freshmen, they commonly recite the Grammars, and with them a recitation in Tully, Virgil, and the Greek Testament, on Mondays, Tuesdays, Wednesdays, and Thursdays, in the morning and forenoon; on Friday morning Dugard's or Farnaby's Rhetoric, and on Saturday morning the Greek Catechism; and, towards the latter end of the year, they dispute on Ramus's Definitions, Mondays and Tuesdays in the forenoon.

"'2. The Sophomores recite Burgersdicius's Logic, and a manuscript called New Logic, in the mornings and forenoons; and towards the latter end of the year Heereboord's Meletemata, and dispute Mondays and Tuesdays in the forenoon, continuing also to recite the classic authors, with Logic and Natural Philosophy; on Saturday mornings they recite Wollebius's Divinity.

"'3. The Junior Sophisters recite Heereboord's Meletemata, Mr. Morton's Physics, More's Ethics, Geography, Metaphysics, in the mornings and forenoons; Wollebius on Saturday morning; and dispute Mondays and Tuesdays in the forenoons.

"'4. The Senior Sophisters, besides Arithmetic, recite Allsted's Geometry, Gassendus's Astronomy, in the morning; go over the Arts towards the latter end of the year, Ames's Medulla on Saturdays, and dispute once a week.'" — Vol. I. pp. 439 – 441.

* * * * *

"Mr. Flynt, in his commonplace-book, thus records an instance of College punishment for stealing poultry.

"'Nov. 4th, 1717. Three scholars were publicly admonished for thievery, and one degraded below five in his class, because he had been before publicly admonished for card-playing. They were ordered by the President into the middle of the Hall (while two others, concealers of the theft, were ordered to stand up in their places, and spoken to there). The crime they were charged with was first declared, and then laid open as against the law of God and the House, and they were admonished to consider the nature and tendency of it, with its aggravations; and all, with them, were warned to take heed and regulate themselves, so that they might not be in danger of so doing for the future; and those, who consented to the theft, were admonished to beware, lest God tear them in pieces

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according to the text. They were then fined, and ordered to make restitution twofold for each theft.' " — *Ibid.*, p. 443.

* * * * *

" It was the custom, during the presidency of Wadsworth, on Commencement day, for the Governor of the Province to come from Boston through Roxbury, often by the way of Watertown, attended by his body guards, and to arrive at the College about ten or eleven o'clock in the morning. A procession was then formed of the Corporation, Overseers, magistrates, ministers, and invited gentlemen, and immediately moved from Harvard Hall to the Congregational church. The exercises of the day began with a short prayer by the President ; a salutatory oration in Latin, by one of the graduating class, succeeded ; then disputations on theses or questions in Logic, Ethics, and Natural Philosophy commenced. These were generally three, and were printed, and distributed on Commencement day. Each question was maintained and defended by a respondent, and every member of the graduating class, the respondents and orators alone excepted, was obliged to adduce publicly at least one opposing argument. When the disputation terminated, one of the candidates pronounced a Latin ' gratulatory oration.' The graduating class were then called, and, after asking leave of the Governor and Overseers, the President conferred the Bachelors' degree, by delivering a book to the candidates (who came forward successively in parties of four), and pronouncing a form of words in Latin. An adjournment then took place to dinner, in Harvard Hall ; from thence the procession returned to the church, and, after the Masters' disputations, usually three in number, were finished, their degrees were conferred, with the same general forms as those of the Bachelors. An occasional address was then made by the President. A Latin valedictory oration by one of the Masters succeeded, and the exercises concluded with a prayer by the President. The students then escorted the Governor, Corporation, and Overseers, in procession, to the President's house, and thus closed the ceremonies of the day.

" In July, 1728, when William Burnett arrived as Governor of Massachusetts, he was ' waited upon by the Corporation, to salute him, wish him assistance and prosperity in his government, to ask his smiles on the College, and the honor of waiting upon him there.' On the 21st of August ensuing he accordingly visited the College, accompanied from Boston by two members of the Corporation ; and, being met by two others, the Professors and Tutors, and Masters of Arts, a mile from the College, he was received by the President and the two remaining members of the Corporation at the library. The Governor was

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there addressed in Latin by a Senior Bachelor, and made a short answer in the same language; and, after having gone to Tutor Flynt's chamber and 'the Mathematical Professor's, where he saw an experiment,' he dined, with about fifty other guests, in the library with the President and Fellows.

"The visit of Governor Belcher to the College appears, according to its records, to have been attended with like ceremonies. He was, on the 9th of September, 1730, escorted to Cambridge by 'a military troop, then waited on by two companies of foot.' When he arrived at the College, after 'having been awhile at Mr. Flynt's chamber, the bell tolled, and the scholars assembled in the Hall, into which the Governor and Corporation having entered, Mr. Hobby made a Latin oration, and his Excellency made a very handsome answer in Latin. This done, and his Excellency the Governor, his Majesty's Council, the Tutors, Professors, and sundry gentlemen, who came on the occasion, dined together in the library, with the Corporation.'" — *Ibid.*, pp. 444 – 446.

In elucidating the events of the first century, which closed with the death of Wadsworth, Mr. Quincy has naturally had recourse to such diaries as are extant, of the principal actors of the time, — particularly to those of the Mathers, Leverett, and Chief Justice Sewall, from all of which he has given large and entertaining extracts. He says of such records;

"There is no class of men, to whom history is under so many obligations as to those, who submit to the labor of keeping diaries. On the one hand, they enjoy a great advantage over their contemporaries, by being thus enabled to tell their own story to posterity in their own way, when there are none living to explain or contradict; yet, on the other hand, nature establishes for this advantage a compensation, in the fact, that they are often led, by vanity, passion, or inadvertence, to state facts and make records, which place their own characters and views, or those of their friends, in lights which they had carefully concealed from their contemporaries; — views which the world, although it might have suspected, could not otherwise have made certain." — Vol. I. pp. 56, 57.

The last remark is very just. Vanity, passion, or inadvertence may prompt writers of diaries unconsciously to leave on record the materials for invalidating their own testimony. But on the other hand, that great advantage which the President remarks that "they enjoy over their contemporaries, by being thus enabled to tell their own story to posterity in their own way, when there are none living to explain or contra-

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dict," is such as forbids a cautious historian to regard them as among his most trustworthy witnesses. We are not contemplating the tremendous cruelty of bequeathing to future times a private comment on contemporaneous events and characters, with recitals fabricated or falsely colored, to the end of disgracing a defenceless enemy in the eye of posterity. But it is clear that great injustice may be done in this way by the most upright men. No man's word is to be implicitly taken under such circumstances, whatever degree of intelligence and integrity we may attribute to him, unless, indeed, we are prepared to say that he possesses these qualities to such a degree as to be infallible. The writer of a diary puts down his present impressions, which may be materially erroneous for want of the explanations which a little more time may bring. Where friendships or dislikes are concerned, or questions of conduct are at issue, he makes his record under the influence of feelings which may bias him from the juster conclusions of a cooler hour. At all events, — for particular considerations are unnecessary, — if his testimony remains to be produced when he and they whom it may harm are no more, it is simply the testimony of a witness who cannot be cross-examined, against an accused who cannot speak for himself; a kind of evidence, which no acknowledged principle or process of justice approves. We have no doubt that the injustice of such records, prepared in perfect good faith, has often, at some later day, been as manifest to the writer's mind, as it could be to any other; and we have often heard a story told of an eminent individual of our own time, — which may well be true, and which, if true, is only another proof of his well-approved probity and candor, — that having written out a journal of the doings of a period of high party excitement, he was astonished, on recurring to it some years after, to find how unjust were representations which he had made with entire honesty of purpose and conviction of their truth, and that he lost no time in preventing it from doing harm hereafter, by committing it to the flames. Nay, in respect to what it might be thought most competent to reveal, — its writer's own motives, character, and acts, — such a record is by no means the credible witness that it might at first view be thought. There is many a man, rich in various other knowledge, who knows less of himself than others around him know. There is many a man, who, guiltless of any thought of making out a case for posterity, turns out but a poor casuist, when, alone

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with his diary, having all the discussion to himself, he takes sweet counsel with pen and paper respecting the excellence of his purposes and doings.

Not only, therefore, do we not read without great distrust the journals of men like the Mathers, but we cannot yield ourselves without a grain of allowance, to those of President Leverett and Chief Justice Sewall, men than whom more honest never lived, but who, unfortunately, could not understand one another. It would be curious to see an account by the Mathers of the following passages between them and Sewall, described in the diary of the latter.

"'1701. *October 20th.* Mr. Cotton Mather came to Mr. Wilkins's shop, and there talked very sharply against me, as if I had used his father worse than a negro. He spake so loud, that the people in the street might hear him.

"'*Mem.* On the 9th of October I sent Mr. Increase Mather a haunch of very good venison.* I hope in that I did not treat him worse than a negro.

"'*October 22d.* I, with Major Walley and Captain Samuel Checkley, speak with Mr. Cotton Mather at Mr. Wilkins's. I expostulate with him from 1 Tim. v. 1, "Rebuke not an elder." He said he had considered that. I told him of his book, of the law of kindness for the tongue. Whether this was correspondent with that, or with Christ's rule. He said, that having spoken to me before, there was no reason for his speaking to me again. And so justified his reviling me behind my back. Charged the Council with lying, hypocrisy, tricks, and I know not what. I asked him, if this were with the meekness as it should be. He answered, Yes. Charged the Council in general, and then showed my share, which was my speech in Council, viz. "If Mr. Mather should go to Cambridge again, to reside, with a resolution not to read in the Scriptures, and expound in the Hall, I fear the example will do more hurt than his going thither will do good." This speech I owned. I asked, if I should suppose he had done something amiss in his church, as an officer, whether it would be well for me to exclaim against him in the street for it? (Mr. Wilkins would fain have had him gone into the inner room, but he would not.) I told him, I conceived he had done much unbecoming a minister of the Gospel; and, being called, I went to the Council. 2 Tim. ii. 24, 25.'

* Sewall was rich. At his wedding, the father of the bride, John Hull, handed her into one of a pair of large scales, and proceeded to throw into the other, for a marriage present, as many "pine-tree shillings" as balanced her fair form, which tradition reports to have been none of the lightest.

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"'*October 23d.* Mr. Increase Mather said to Mr. Wilkins, "If I am a servant of Jesus Christ, some great judgment will fall on Capt. Sewall and his family."'

"'*October 25th.* This day got my speech copied out, and gave it to Mr. Wilkins, that all might see what was the ground of Mr. Mather's anger. Wilkins carried it to the Mathers. Writ out another, and gave it to Joshua Gee. I perceive Mr. Wilkins carried his to Mr. Mather. They seem to grow calm.'" — Vol. I. pp. 490, 491.

In respect to one interesting transaction in which Sewall and Leverett were in conflict, Mr. Quincy gives us both sides. It is curious to see these entombed passions of more than a century ago thus bursting their cerements; and it teaches a lesson of charity. Each of these good men, it is clear, thought ill enough of the other on this occasion. If we of this day had only the story of one, we too should be tempted to think ill of the adverse party. If either account was to be preserved, it is lucky that it was not preserved alone. A comparison of them makes it evident, that while fault was imputed on both parts, there was no consciousness of fault on either, but rather of merit. It illustrates another point concerning the credibility of this class of records. Either Leverett was wrong in supposing the existence of a plot, — which it is plain he confidently did, — or else Sewall, who, if it existed, was a party to it, was insincere in suppressing all allusion to it.

"'When the President had read the above memorial, he delivered it into his Excellency's hand, who discoursed in short in favor of it, and seemed to be ready to put it to vote. But Mr. Dudley prayed he might look upon it, to whom it was handed; and while he was looking on it, there was an interval of silence. In which space Judge Sewall stood up, and said to this effect; "While we are considering to enlarge the College for receiving students, I desire to be informed how the worship of God is carried on in the Hall, and to ask Mr. President, whether there has not been some intermission of the exposition of the Scriptures of late." The President, after a short pause, answered, "that he thought the present business of the meeting was to be attended, and not to be interrupted by any surmise of a neglect in the administration of the affairs of the College, and that the place where the Overseers were now convened was not the proper place for such an inquiry. That if the Overseers, who are the visitors of the College, had any informations laid before them of omissions or neglects of duty, or maleadministration, by any of the persons that had the im-

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mediate administration of the College in their hands, that the Overseers should make a visitation, and inquire into those matters upon the very place, either in the College Hall or Library." And the President added, "he did not expect such a question should have been moved at this time, in interruption of the business before the Overseers, and for considering and advising upon which this meeting was called; and that he was surprised, and little expected such a treatment from the honorable person that moved it, having never once suggested any thing of his suspicion or apprehension of any failure in his duty from his Honor."

"'His Excellency took up the matter, and declared, that the motion, whatever occasion there might be for it, though he knew none, was very improper, and altogether out of course; and the whole board seemed to be of the same opinion, except Mr. Dudley, who, (it may be supposed, by concert with somebody, it may be then not present, contrived the interval of silence, by poring on the memorial, that so the zealous Judge might have the opportunity to make his impertinent, not to say, in him, invidious motion), raising his head and eyes from the paper he seemed to be intent in reading, said, — "he, for his part, seconded his Honor the Chief Justice's motion."

"'However, this motion was put by, and the business of the meeting was reassumed. And yet sundry motions were made again by Mr. Dudley, tending to, if not designed for, a diversion; but at length the question was put, Whether it be the mind of the Overseers of Harvard College, that the General Assembly be addressed to perfect the new building of a College in Cambridge to one hundred feet in length? Which passed in the affirmative.' A Committee was then appointed to present the memorial to the General Court; and a vote, in conformity with the motion of Judge Sewall was also passed, that 'the President shall entertain the scholars in the College with frequent expositions of the Scriptures.'" — Vol. I. pp. 221–223.

The above is Leverett's account of the scene. The following is Sewall's;

"'1718. *November 12th.* Overseers' meeting, to petition the General Court to make the College one hundred feet long. One calling for the memorial from the end of the table, I stood up and said, what the Honorable Commissioner had in hand was of great moment, but I apprehended there was an affair of greater moment. I have heard exposition of the Scriptures was not carried on in the Hall. I inquired of the President if it were so or no. Was silence a little while. Then the President seemed to be surprised at my treating him in this manner.

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I did not use to do so. Neither did he use to treat me so. This complaint was made twice at least. Many spoke earnestly, that what was said was out of season. Mr. Attorney stood up and seconded me very strenuously. When I was fallen so hard upon, I said, I apprehended the not expounding the Scriptures was a faulty omission, and I was glad of that opportunity of showing my dislike of it. President said he had begun to take it up again. I said I was glad of it. At another time said, *that, if he was to expound in the Hall, he must be supported.* It went over. The memorial was voted. Then Mr. Belcher stood up, and moved earnestly, that exposition might be attended. At last Mr. Wadsworth stood up and spoke in favor of it, and drew up a vote, that the President should, *as frequently as he could,* entertain the students with expositions of the Holy Scriptures, and read it. I moved, that "*as he could*" should be left out, and it was so voted. Mr. President seemed to say, softly, it was not till now the business of the President to expound in the Hall. I said, I was glad the Overseers had now the honor of declaring it to be the President's duty.'

"'*November 13th.* Mr. President spake to me again pretty earnestly, and intimated, it was not the President's duty before this order. I said, that it was a shame that a law should be required, meaning, *Ex malis moribus bonæ leges.*'" — *Ibid.*, pp. 494, 495.

If we begin to make extracts from the richly characteristic specimens furnished by Mr. Quincy of the diaries of the Mathers, we are in danger of being tempted too far. We covenant with ourselves to be content with the two following. President Mather had been abroad, and like so many others, in all times, had come back impatient of home. In England he had plenty of notoriety and consequence, and the remembrance of it haunted him the more, because of the diminished influence here, to which he felt that he had returned. To England he was very uneasy to go, and his son was as uneasy to have him, expecting himself to succeed to the empty presidential chair. Accordingly they both had inspirations upon the subject, which they were infinitely perplexed to reconcile with the course of actual events. Fast, and agonize, and intrigue as they might, the General Court were impracticable; no money was to be had; and President Mather had to grow old and die in his own Boston parish.

"'1693. *September 3d.* As I was riding to preach at Cambridge, I prayed to God, — begged that my labors might be blessed to the souls of the students; at the which I was much

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melted. Also saying to the Lord, that some workings of his Providence seemed to intimate, that I must be returned to England again; and saying, "Lord, if it will be more to your glory, that I should go to England than for me to continue here in this land, then let me go; otherwise not." I was inexpressibly melted, and that for a considerable time, and a stirring suggestion, that to England I must go. In this there was something extraordinary, either divine or angelical.'

"'*October 29th.* As I was riding thither (to Cambridge), all the way between Charlestown and Cambridge I conversed with God by soliloquies and prayer. I was much melted with the apprehension of returning to England again; strongly persuaded it would be so; and that God was about to do some great thing there, so that I should have a great opportunity again to do service to his name.'

"'*December 30th.* Meltings before the Lord this day when praying, desiring being returned to England again, there to do service to his name, and persuasions that the Lord will appear therein.'

"'1694. *January 27th.* Prayers and supplications that tidings may come from England, that may be some direction to me, as to my returning thither or otherwise, as shall be most for his glory.'

"'*March 13th.* This morning with prayers and tears I begged of God that I might hear from my friends and acquaintance in England something that should encourage and comfort me. Such tidings are coming, but I know not what it is. God has heard me.'

"'1696. *April 9th.* This morning as I was reading in course Matt. viii. 13, it was with a strong hand impressed upon my spirit, as I had believed, that God would return me to England, and there give me an opportunity greatly to glorify the Lord Jesus Christ, so it shall be done unto me. I was wonderfully melted with assurance that so it will be. And after that, again, as I was praying in my study. In the mean time the Lord help me diligently to improve my time, to do all the good I can in New England; which, oh! how little it is that I am capable of doing, because I want wisdom and grace.'

"'*April 19th.* (Sabbath.) In the morning, as I was praying in my closet, my heart was marvellously melted with the persuasion, that I should glorify Christ in England. So again, as I was praying and using soliloquies with the Lord in my study between the public meetings.'

"'*April 26th.* The persuasions which have been in my heart concerning that matter (going to England), I cannot help. They were wrought in me with fastings and prayings by the

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Lord. Also on Lord's day, when I have been most in the Spirit; and I have left that matter wholly with God.'

"'*May 2d.* I was wonderfully affected this day with suggestions and impressions on my spirits, that tidings are coming from England which will revive me, and let me see, that my prayers are heard, and that my faith shall not suffer a disappointment.'

"'*June 18th.* God has given me to see answers of prayer and faith, which I have made with respect to my having an opportunity to glorify Christ in England, shall not be disappointed. Bless the Lord, O my soul!'" — Vol. I. pp. 475, 476.

Such were the father's exercises. The following were some of the son's.

"'1700. *16th d. 4th mo.* (Lord's day.) I am going to relate one of the most astonishing things that ever befell in all the time of my pilgrimage.

"'A particular faith had been unaccountably produced in my father's heart, and in my own, that God will carry him unto England, and there give him a short but great opportunity to glorify the Lord Jesus Christ, before his entrance into the heavenly kingdom. There appears no probability of my father's going thither but in an agency to obtain a charter for the College. This matter having been for several years upon the very point of being carried in the General Assembly, hath strangely miscarried when it hath come to the birth. It is now again before the Assembly, in circumstances wherein if it succeed not, it is never like to be revived and resumed any more. Sundry times, many times, when I have been spreading the case before the Lord, with a faith triumphantly exercised on his power and wisdom and goodness, I have had my assurances, that my father shall yet glorify the Lord Jesus Christ in *England*, renewed unto my amazement.

"'But the matter in the Assembly being likely now to come unto nothing, I was in this day in extreme distress of spirit concerning it. My *flesh* indeed would be on all accounts imaginable against my father's removal from me. It will doubtless plunge me into ten thousand inconveniences. But my faith, on the other hand, having been so supernaturally raised for it, the thoughts of that 's being wholly disappointed were insupportable. After I had finished all the other duties of this day, I did in my distress cast myself prostrate on my study floor before the Lord. Here I acknowledged my own manifold and horrible sinfulness, and my worthiness, by reason of that sinfulness, to be put off with delusions, and have a serpent given to me

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when I asked and looked for the Holy Spirit. Nevertheless, I, that am dust and ashes, and worthy to be made so by fire from Heaven, craved leave to plead with Heaven concerning the matter of the particular faith which had been wrought in my mind, as I thought by the Lord's own holy operation. I pleaded, that my Lord Jesus Christ had furnished me with his own glorious righteousness, and was now making intercession for me in the Holy of Holies, and because of his interest there I might approach to the most high God, with humble boldness, as to a prayer-hearing Lord. I spread before him the consequences of things, and the present posture and aspect of them, and, having told the Lord, that I had always taken a *particular faith* to be a work of Heaven on the minds of the faithful, but if it should prove a deceit in that remarkable instance which was now the cause of my agony, I should be cast into a most wonderful confusion ; I then begged of the Lord, that, if my particular faith about my father's voyage to England were not a delusion, he would be pleased to renew it upon me. All this while my heart had the coldness of a stone upon it, and the straitness that is to be expected from the lone exercise of reason. But now all on the sudden I felt an inexpressible force to fall on my mind, an *afflatus*, which cannot be described in words ; *none knows it but he that has it.* If an angel from Heaven had spoken it particularly to me, the communication would not have been more powerful and perceptible. It was told me, that the Lord Jesus Christ loved my father, and loved me, and that he took delight in us, as in two of his faithful servants, and that he had not permitted us to be deceived in our *particular faith*, but that my father should be carried into England, and there glorify the Lord Jesus Christ before his passing into glory ; that there shall be illustrious revenues of praise to the Lord Jesus Christ, from our *particular faith* about this concern, and that I shall also live to see it, and that a sentence of death shall be written on the effect and success of our *particular faith*, but the Lord Jesus Christ, who raises the dead, is the resurrection and the life, shall give a new life unto it. *He will do it! He will do it!*

"'Having left a flood of tears from me, by these rages from the invisible world, on my study floor, I rose and went into my chair. There I took up my Bible, and the first place that I opened was at Acts xxvii. 23 – 25, "There stood by me an angel of God, whose I am, and whom I serve, saying, Fear not, thou must be brought before Cæsar." I believe God, that it shall be even as it was told me. A new flood of tears gushed from my flowing eyes, and I broke out into these expressions. "What ! shall my father yet appear before Cæsar ! Has an

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angel from Heaven told me so! And must I believe what has been told me! Well then, it shall be so! it shall be so!"

"'And now what shall I say! When the affair of my father's agency after this came to a turning point in the Court, it strangely miscarried! All came to nothing! Some of the Tories had so wrought upon the Governor, that, though he had first moved this matter, and had given us both directions and promises about it, yet he now (not without base unhandsomeness) deferred it. The Lieutenant-Governor, who had formerly been for it, now (not without great ebullition of unaccountable prejudice and ingratitude) appeared, with all the little tricks imaginable, to confound it. It had for all this been carried, had not some of the Council been inconveniently called off and absent. But now the whole affair of the College was left unto the management of the Earl of Bellamont, so that all expectation of a voyage for my father unto England, on any such occasion, is utterly at an end.

"'What shall I make of this wonderful matter? Wait! Wait!'" — Vol. I. pp. 484–486.

To the administration of Wadsworth succeeded that of Holyoke, the longest, and one of the most prosperous, in the College history. He was elected in 1737, being then minister of a parish in Marblehead, and died in office in 1769. Soon after his accession, the excitement caused by the preaching of Whitefield swept through New England, and the College, in a published "Testimony of the President, Fellows, and Tutors," was brought into collision with that extraordinary heresiarch and his friends, — the last occasion on which it ever set foot on the field of religious controversy. In Holyoke's time was laid the first American foundation of a Professorship, that of "Hebrew and other Oriental Languages," which was endowed by Thomas Hancock, a merchant of Boston, with the bequest of one thousand pounds sterling, and which, till within the present century, remained the only Professorship in the College, except the two previously instituted by Hollis, and three, in the faculty of Medicine, established immediately after the revolution. In 1763 another building, Hollis Hall, erected at the cost of £4800, was presented by the Province. And immediately after occurred the greatest calamity ever suffered by the College, in the destruction by fire of Harvard Hall, the original building, with most of its precious contents, including the entire library (which consisted of more than five thousand volumes), and

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the whole apparatus of philosophical instruments. In consequence of the prevalence of the small-pox in Boston, the Legislature had been adjourned to Cambridge by Governor Bernard, when, at midnight on the 24th of January, 1764, the building was discovered to be in flames, communicated from a fire in the Library chamber, which was occupied by the Governor and Council, or from that in the room below, which was the place of meeting of the Representatives. The night was cold and stormy, and, it being vacation time, only three persons lodged in the College buildings. Massachusetts and Hollis Halls, as well as Stoughton Hall and Holden Chapel (the last two, gifts of private benefactors, which we have not mentioned,) also took fire, and were with difficulty preserved, by the exertions of the towns-people and of the magistrates, among which those of Governor Bernard were conspicuous. "The best library and philosophical apparatus in America, comprising the collections and donations of more than a century, utterly perished."

The efforts made to repair this terrible desolation, constitute one of the most honorable chapters in the history of the College or of the Province. The Legislature, on the following day, resolved unanimously to rebuild Harvard Hall at the public cost, appointing a committee of their own body to superintend the work. The plan was furnished by Governor Bernard.

"The Corporation and Overseers were not less faithful to the interests of the seminary. Lieutenant-Governor Hutchinson and Dr. Chauncy were the chairmen of the committees raised in both boards to set forward subscriptions, and solicit assistance from all persons disposed to aid in repairing the losses the seminary had sustained. Letters were addressed by these committees to Jasper Mauduit, the agent of the Province in England; to Thomas Hollis, the third benefactor of that name; to Dr. Avery, chairman of the committee of Dissenters, and to others, 'desiring their interests with their respective friends in favor of the College.' In America, besides special agents, the clergy of all denominations were appointed to receive donations in money or books; and all the Overseers who had correspondents abroad, or influence at home, were enjoined to use their friendly offices to obtain benefactions. These exertions of the guardians of the seminary were attended with a success equally gratifying and unprecedented. To enumerate all the benefactors, who appeared on this occasion would be to

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record the names of almost every individual of wealth and public spirit in the Province. To name only the most distinguished would be to make discriminations in a case, where the amount was often regulated by want of means, and not of disposition. Some subscribed books; others, articles of philosophical apparatus; others, money.

"In Great Britain the spirit of place, or of party, had no influence upon the spirit of sympathy, and the subscriptions were equally liberal. Thomas Hollis, emulating the liberal disposition of his uncle, subscribed at once four hundred pounds sterling, to be divided equally between the library and the apparatus. Among the English Dissenters, Harvard College had, at all times, been the object of munificent patronage, and the names of many individuals, distinguished among them for influence and intellectual power, stand high on the list of benefactors, by appearing in this hour of her distress. The Episcopalians, also, unmindful of the jealousies, at that moment in active excitement against them in the Province, and of the asperities to which they had been exposed, gave honorable evidence of their catholicism and charity. The Archbishops, both of Canterbury and York, subscribed, and used their influence in its favor. Their donations, and those of other members of the Episcopal church, were gratefully acknowledged by the Corporation, and their names placed in the library of the seminary, over alcoves, which their liberal and catholic spirit had filled with books.

"In June, 1764, Governor Bernard, accompanied by the committee appointed by the General Court to rebuild Harvard Hall, laid the corner-stone of the building, and in June, 1776, it was completed, at an expense of twenty-three thousand dollars. In a few years, by the concentrated efforts and influence of individuals and the Provincial government, a library was collected, which soon acquired an extension corresponding to the increase and prosperity of the colonies."— Vol. II. pp. 114–116.

The long summer day of Holyoke's administration closed as brightly as it had begun and proceeded. He had not been without some share of official vexations and embarrassments, but they were no more than were sufficient to show his power to conquer them and bring good out of them; and his death at the age of eighty, leaving the College in a condition of stability, popularity, and distinguished usefulness, was felt to be a loss which could scarcely be repaired.

The administration of the next President, Locke, of whom high hopes were entertained, was closed by his resignation,

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after three years, in consequence of some private misconduct. To him, in 1774, succeeded Samuel Langdon, minister of Portsmouth. The times were now out of joint. In the following year, the College buildings were occupied by the American army. The library and philosophical apparatus were deposited for safe keeping at Andover, and the College removed to Concord. It had not got fairly settled again in its old quarters, before General Heath wanted them for the prisoners of Saratoga; and, after some fruitless negotiation, in consequence of a peremptory order from that officer, the students, in November, 1777, were again dispersed to their homes. Between politics and roving, the ingenuous youth of the College were of course no very promising subjects of either instruction or discipline; and the President, though an able and worthy man, proving deficient in some elements of what is called *the spirit of government*, had failed to secure that respect on their part, which was necessary to control the unsettled habits of the times. Stimulated in their disaffection by some officers of the College, they held a meeting, adopted resolutions, and addressed a memorial to the Corporation, charging him with "impiety, heterodoxy, unfitness for the office of preacher of the Christian religion, and still more for that of President." Amazed and broken-spirited, he resigned forthwith, which he had no sooner done, than they met again, and with equal heartiness voted just the opposite of what they had voted before, with the exception only of the clause relating to fitness for the Presidential chair. He lived seventeen years longer, and died pastor of a church at Hampton Falls, in the year 1797, having in the mean time exerted an important political influence in New Hampshire, and, as a leader in the debates of its Convention for considering the Federal Constitution, rendered valuable service in obtaining its assent to that measure.

Conscientious, faithful, and competent, in most respects, to all common occasions, as President Langdon was, he was not of a constitution to thrive in a long storm; and for him, as for the apostle, not only without were fightings, but within were fears. Chosen to his place as an eminent son of liberty, he was destined to have trouble, more than enough, with a stouter scion of the same stock. The long letter to Hancock which he wrote, or which he signed, relating to the course of that distinguished individual as Treasurer of the

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College, moves at once respect for the propriety and ability of its argument, and a strange sort of pity and surprise that such a body as the Corporation should have been reduced to use such a tone, on such an occasion. The Corporation thought they had done a great thing for themselves and the College, in persuading John Hancock to take the charge of its strong-box in 1773. The following year, met the first Provincial Congress, and in the year after, the Continental Congress, of both which bodies he was successively a member and President. Under these circumstances, no one can blame or wonder that his mind was more upon other things than upon the College's books and bonds, or the tutors' salaries.

But tutors could not live without bread, nor could bread be had without money; debtors would not pay without receipts; nor could books or property be taken care of without somebody to keep them. When more than a year had passed since his election, the Corporation asked their Treasurer, then in Boston, for some account of the state of their funds, and got no answer. They renewed the application when public business was about to call him away from town, and with the same pleasing success. Learning that he was about to go to Philadelphia, upon that hint they spake yet again, and were then informed that he was "busily engaged," but would "soon appoint a day to attend the business." A fortnight having elapsed, they held a meeting, and requested his presence. He sent an excuse, and promised "to lay his accounts before them by the middle of next week." That week passed, and some others after it, and the Corporation addressed to him a letter expressing their "unhappiness at being disappointed as to the promised settlement; they knew his patriotic exertions in his country's cause, and were willing to allow much for this plea of delay, but it was their duty to be solicitous for the seminary; they were accountable to the Overseers and the world." Much good may their solicitude do them, thought the Treasurer, and after informing them that he left "all his matters in the hands of a gentleman of approved integrity," — who it was, they appear to have been left to guess, — away he went to Philadelphia. In March, 1776, went on an humble and truly moving representation of the distress daily suffered by the College, for the cause complained of, and after a while another, expressing the hope that "Mr. Hancock will not be offended at a renewal of the earnest re-

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quest to hear from him speedily, and know what may be done in such a situation of College affairs." To this, after a month, they got a reply, with the information that he had just sent off a messenger "in a light wagon, with orders to bring all his books and papers across the country to Philadelphia from Boston." Horror of horrors! The books and papers of Harvard College on their way to Philadelphia, in a light wagon, through a country which might be the seat of war! To Philadelphia however they went, and how to get them back again was now the question. The Overseers took it up, and appointed a Committee of gentlemen of the highest consideration, — Bowdoin, and others, — to attend to it. Under their advice, the Corporation commissioned a Tutor to proceed in quest of the precious *strays* to Philadelphia, Baltimore, or wherever else the Continental Congress, and its President, might be. He came back luckily with the papers, but still with no settlement of accounts, nor statement of the balance in the Treasury. The Corporation at length, in 1777, under the recommendation of the Overseers, worked their courage up to the pitch of supplying the derelict place by the election of another Treasurer. In 1780, Hancock was chosen Governor of Massachusetts; but though the politician was, for the rest of his life, less busy, the Treasurer was equally impracticable. As Governor, he would preside with his immovable urbanity, at the board of Overseers, and hear his successor's report recite, that "it is not known what sums the late Treasurer received and paid, his accounts being still unsettled." To make a long story short, Hancock, having in 1785 announced his intention to retire from the Chief Magistracy, settled his accounts, acknowledging a debt of a little more than one thousand pounds. But still it was such a satisfactory settlement as is made by a note on demand, from a person whose ear for such demands is that of the adder. The Corporation never saw their money till two years after they had attended Hancock's funeral, in 1793. Then his heirs paid it, principal and simple interest.

This story, — merely amusing now, though suited rather, near the time, to "ope the sacred source of sympathetic tears," — President Quincy recites at length. Why not? If great people, of their own high pleasure, without right or reason, will insist on keeping other people's money, the least they can expect is that, by and by, somebody will tell of them.

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John Hancock was not a whit the more nor the less a zealous and efficient friend to the patriotic movement of the Revolution, because of his wayward treatment of the College. He was not the first person, who, under the perilous influences of such a position, has demeaned himself unsuitably, nor will he in all probability, be the last. There was not the remotest idea of any embezzlement. He was but the exquisite despiser of a tailor's bill, who asks what such impudent duns would have, — whether it is not enough, that he gives them his patronage; do they think he means to cheat them? he will pay when he is ready. Rather, he was the big boy, who, having pocketed the little boy's marbles, answers his request for their restitution with the comfortable inquiry, whether he will have them now, or wait till he can get them. If Hancock had happened to be in perfectly good humor when the College's first application was made, or if it had happened to suit his convenience perfectly to attend to it at once, it is probable that there would not have been the slightest difficulty. But as to being urged to do such a thing at any time but his own, that was out of the question. A mission like George Fox's to convert the pope, or a proposal to General Jackson to put back the deposites, would have been about as promising an overture. Was he, the young, rich, glorious President of Congress, idol of the people, selected object of royal vengeance, — he, the goddess of liberty's own Adonis, — to be badgered by some fusty gownsmen into sitting down to figure up their paltry accounts? It were better, if he had done so, no doubt; or, — what would have been the same thing, — if he had allowed some clerk to do it. But what if he did not? The history which convicts him of such omission does not rob him of a patriot's fame. It remains not a whit the less true, that his services and sacrifices in the cause of the country were most material in kind and amount; and a certain wantonness and wilfulness have always, from the beginning of time, been pardoned to popular leaders, and probably will be, to its end. The better for them, that it is so, as far as their consideration is concerned, though the worse, as respects the completeness of the example which it is desirable they should bequeath to a grateful posterity. At all events, no rhetorical patriot needs to disturb himself with the fear, that all which Mr. Quincy has recorded of Hancock's protervity will rob of its slightest grace what uses to be justly said in his praise, in the Fourth of July orations.

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With all its good purposes of keeping up with the *spirit of the age*, the College, it seems, was somewhat tenacious of its ancient customs, at least to the end of the time through which we have as yet traced its history. It was as late as about the period of the breaking out of the Revolution, that, the Overseers having recommended a discontinuance of the custom of sending Freshmen on errands, the Corporation voted, that, "after deliberate consideration and weighing all circumstances, they are not able to project any plan in the room of this long and ancient custom, that will not, in their opinion, be attended with equal if not greater inconveniences." The relations then sustained by these unhappy fags to their superiors, and by those superiors to one another, may be partly inferred from the spirit of a few regulations of the ancient code.

"'1. No Freshman shall wear his hat in the College yard, unless it rains, hails, or snows, provided he be on foot, and have not both hands full.

"'2. No Undergraduate shall wear his hat in the College yard, when any of the Governors of the College are there; and no Bachelor shall wear his hat when the President is there.

"'3. Freshmen are to consider all the other classes as their Seniors.

"'4. No Freshman shall speak to a Senior with his hat on; or have it on in a Senior's chamber, or in his own if a Senior be there.

"'5. All the Undergraduates shall treat those in the Government of the College with respect and deference; particularly they shall not be seated without leave in their presence; they shall be uncovered when they speak to them or are spoken to by them.

"'6. All Freshmen (except those employed by the Immediate Government of the College) shall be obliged to go any errand (except such as shall be judged improper by some one in the Government of the College) for any of their seniors, Graduates or Undergraduates, at any time, except in studying hours, or after nine o'clock in the evening.

"'7. A Senior Sophister has authority to take a Freshman from a Sophomore, a middle Bachelor from a Junior Sophister, a Master from a Senior Sophister, and any Governor of the College from a Master.

"'8. Every Freshman before he goes for the person who takes him away (unless it be one in the Government of the

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College,) shall return and inform the person from whom he is taken.

"'9. No Freshman, when sent on an errand, shall make any unnecessary delay, neglect to make due return, or go away till dismissed by the person who sent him.

"'10. No Freshman shall be detained by a Senior, when not actually employed on some suitable errand.

"'11. No Freshman shall be obliged to observe any order of a Senior to come to him, or go on any errand for him, unless he be wanted immediately.

"'12. No Freshman, when sent on an errand, shall tell who he is going for, unless he be asked; nor be obliged to tell what he is going for, unless asked by a Governor of the College.

"'13. When any person knocks at a Freshman's door, except in studying time, he shall immediately open the door without inquiring who is there.'" — Vol. II. pp. 539, 540.

As late as 1734, "the right of punishing undergraduates by 'boxing' was deemed so essential to discipline, that the exercise of it was expressly reserved to the President, Professors, and Tutors;" and more than twenty years later, the Corporation could only be brought so far to experiment upon it, as to suspend its execution for one year. As to the old respect for dignities, it is said by pupils of President Willard, whose administration extended into the present century, that, when the wig and cloak that enclosed him were seen floating through the College grounds, not even a Professor was ever discerned by his side.

President Willard, Langdon's successor, was inducted into office, December 19th, 1781. The resources of the College were at this period sadly straitened by the depreciation of the currency. So sore was the evil, that in 1786, no less than three fifths of the capital were found to have been sunk. Down to the time of this administration, the College's dependence chiefly for the President's support, and partly for that of the Professors, had always been upon annual grants of the Legislature. In 1786 was made the last provision from this source for the salary of any officer. Meanwhile, the excellent thrift of the Corporation had done something towards placing them in an independent position; the confidence, on which they had proceeded, in the ultimate victory of a sense of justice in the national counsels, was rewarded in the results of that decisive measure of Hamilton,

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the funding of the public debt; and in 1793, the Treasurer was enabled to report the personal estate of the institution, as amounting to a sum of more than one hundred and eighty-two thousand dollars.

From the point to which we have now accompanied his narrative, Mr. Quincy properly declines pursuing it as in the earlier chapters. He says;

"The history of Harvard University has now been brought down to our own times; to a period too near to be viewed in just historical perspective. Henceforth it will therefore be restricted to an outline of events, and, in each successive presidency, attention will be principally directed to the nature and objects of the Professorships established or enlarged. The legislative patronage granted and the changes in the studies, discipline, and finances, which have occurred, will be stated, and accompanied by such facts and illustrations as will give a comprehensive view of the progress, present state, and resources of the institution."—Vol. II. p. 258.

Accordingly, while rich details are given of the course of such events, the full history of three administrations preceding Mr. Quincy's own, — those of Willard, Webber, and Kirkland, — remains to be written. In treating of that of Willard, the most *salient* event of which was the establishment of the Medical School, with a Faculty of three Professors, — the future historian will have satisfaction in dwelling on the facts, which will enable him to confirm his respectful tribute to a learned, good, and strong-minded man, and to faithful, well-judged and successful endeavours to raise the institution from a condition of great embarrassment and disorder to one of eminent prosperity and usefulness. In the short sway of President Webber, — transferred from the mathematical chair to the Presidency in 1806, and removed by death in four years after, — he will have to recognise a just, firm, and discreet official course, which, if in so brief a space it produced few striking results, left nothing, either in action or omission, for censure or regret. The establishment, by private benefactors, of two new professorships, those of Natural History, and of Rhetoric and Oratory, — the first incumbent of the latter being the present venerable ex-President Adams, — were the principal events of that time. John Thornton Kirkland succeeded to the vacant Presidency in 1810, and exercised the office eighteen years. This period, he who

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shall write of it hereafter will have occasion to describe as, in comparison with any which had preceded it, the day of the College's greatness and splendor ; and he will delight in doing large justice to the claims on the veneration and gratitude of later times, of its controlling mind, — a mind of rare endowments, set off by a character of the most impressive and winning virtue, — and in illustrating its beneficent influence as well on the tastes, sentiments, and pursuits of the surrounding community, as on the immediate subjects of its guidance.

By the help of President Kirkland, and of the admirable company of which he was the central light, the liberal objects of an instructed people's regard and ambition assumed a new position in the society about him. The enthusiasm of the young for all that is best worth living for, was excited and informed. A glory became connected with the name of scholar, which revived an intense feeling of other times. A sense of what it is that adorns and exalts a commonwealth was imparted to those able to promote that end, and bore its fruits in what we presume to be an extraordinary private patronage of learning. We have just read in an English newspaper of the Queen Dowager's " munificent gift " of two thousand pounds sterling to a fund for bishops in the colonies, and of those of the Archbishop of Canterbury and of the Bishop of London, amounting each to half that sum. These were princely gifts, and they were made from princely revenues. Boston was a town, consisting, during the eighteen years of which we speak, of about fifty thousand inhabitants, — mostly professional men, mechanics, and merchants ; and the private gifts made or now known to have been bequeathed during that time to Harvard College (principally contributed from that city, though there were liberal patrons in other places), amounted to not less than four hundred thousand dollars; of which sum five Bostonians gave twenty thousand dollars or more, each, and one (the late Governor Gore) gave a hundred thousand ; while the Commonwealth made its addition of ten thousand dollars a year for ten years. With the aid of such liberality from without, and such ability within, every thing about the College assumed an improved appearance. The means of instruction were enlarged to meet the greatly increased resort of students, and its methods reformed to suit the higher tastes which had come to prevail, and the higher objects which were contemplated. New professorships were founded, and men

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of eminent gifts, ornaments, in their several spheres, to the rising literature of the country, were attracted to fill them. The Schools of Law and Divinity were founded, and thus the outline of a University filled up. Four new costly edifices were erected. The Law, Medical and Theological libraries were instituted, and the General Library was increased to nearly double its size, while arrangements were introduced for increasing its usefulness by extending its advantages to a greater number of persons, and by keeping it constantly open to those who desired to resort to it for study. A cabinet of Mineralogy was obtained, and those in the Medical department, and that of Natural Philosophy were greatly enriched. These are fruits or tokens of singularly successful public service, capable of being specified. Others, less definite and less appreciable, were not, however, of less worth. Nearly one quarter part of all whom the College has reared, from its foundation to the present time, were pupils of President Kirkland. There is not, probably, an individual of their number, who does not think of him and his influence with a tender and grateful veneration. If a rare sagacity and wisdom, coupled with a disinterestedness still more uncommon, and constituting thus a combination of singular efficiency for useful influence and action, — if these entitle a man to be kindly and honorably remembered, the name of Kirkland is not one of those that men will willingly let die.

Dr. Kirkland died in Boston, April 26th, 1840, twelve years after his resignation of the presidency. The Corporation took appropriate notice of that event, adopting measures for the government and students of the University to take part in the tribute of respect arranged by his pupils, and offering the use of the public rooms at Cambridge for the commemorative services.

A fact stated by President Quincy will surprise many, who have been accustomed to regard the pecuniary resources of the University as the gift rather of public than private liberality. It is, that the whole "productive estate" now held by the institution, — that is, the property yielding a revenue towards its maintenance, — "may with sufficient accuracy be regarded as the result of private munificence, or of the wise management of the Corporation, in successive periods." What the public has given is either now represented by fixtures, as some of the buildings, or else has been applied in such

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expenditures that, in respect to money investment, (though not in respect to the attainment of proper objects) it has perished in the using. The President by no means suppresses or slurs over the record of what the Colonial, Provincial, or State Legislature has actually done; but the following is his statement of the facts, as far as relates to the first seventy years.

"In respect to grants of money, the patronage of the General Court, during this first period of seventy years, certainly never exceeded, and there is no known documentary evidence, that it ever equalled, the annual payment of £100 until the year 1673, and that of £150 during the subsequent years of this period. These payments, with the income of the Ferry, were the only resources of the institution of a permanent character, for the support of the President and officers. The deficiency was made up by assessments on the students. With the exception of this annual stipend, there is no evidence of grants of money, or even transfers of rates, except at times, when the treasury of the Colony actually possessed an amount greatly exceeding such grant or transfer, received from private donations, on account of the College. During that whole period its officers were dependent for daily bread upon the bounty of the General Court. They always stood before the Court in the attitude of humble suppliants, destitute of the power even to enforce their rights; and found, by bitter experience, how miserable is he who hangs on a sovereign's favor, be that sovereign one or many, prince or people.

"In respect to grants of land, the General Court, in 1652, gave to the College eight hundred acres, and in 1653, two thousand acres. Both grants failed. In 1658 the Court attempted to indemnify the College for this loss, by granting to it two thousand one hundred acres of land, being, as they thought, a part of their share of the plunder accruing from their victory over the Pequods. The Colony of Connecticut, however, claimed these lands as their own portion of the spoils, and dispossessed the College of them; and it is not known or believed, that the College obtained any thing from that grant. In 1683, the General Court made another attempt to patronize the College by a grant of one thousand acres of land at Merriconeage. This grant, however, had the fate of its predecessors. The College gained nothing by it, but a lawsuit and a judgment disaffirming its title. During the first seventy years, the College derived no aid from the General Court towards the erection of its buildings or the increase of its funds, in consequence of any grant or donation. These were altogether the result of individual munificence. So that the whole bounty of that body,

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during this entire period, was limited to the annual payment, at first, of £100, and afterward £150, as above stated, and the income of the Ferry.

"Neither does it anywhere appear that the original grant of £400 was ever specifically paid. As far as can now be ascertained, the above annual grants were deemed a sufficient fulfilment of that vote." — Vol. I. pp. 40, 41.

Again; as to the next period, ending with the time of the discontinuance, in 1786, of annual grants towards the support of the President and Professors.

"In 1707, when Mr. Leverett consented to accept the presidency, the General Court fixed his salary at £150 per annum. In 1711, President Leverett received an additional grant of £30, increased afterwards annually to £40, and once to £50. Subsequently to the year 1719, these additional grants are not mentioned on the records of the General Court. But, on the supposition that they were continued, it may be stated, with sufficient accuracy, that during the whole presidency of Leverett, the grants to that officer, from the legislature, (including the grant of £30, made in 1727 to his daughters,) never exceeded two hundred, and probably did not average the sum of one hundred and eighty pounds a year.

"On the accession of Mr. Wadsworth, in 1726, the salary of the President was fixed at £400, by the General Court; of which £40 were to be derived from the rents of Massachusetts Hall, and £360 from annual grants. It may be stated, perhaps, with perfect accuracy, that this last sum was the amount of these grants during the whole of his presidency.

"Soon after the accession of Holyoke, in 1737, annual grants were not only made to the President, but were occasionally extended to the Professor of Divinity, and the Instructor in Hebrew, and, after the middle of the century, to the Professor of Mathematics. From the uncertainty of the time when these grants commenced, from the variation in value of the paper currency, and the imperfection of the records, the difficulty of approximating to a satisfactory estimate of their exact amount is extreme. About the middle of the century they became generally regular; namely, to the President £250, to the Professor of Divinity £100, to the Mathematical Professor £80, and to the Hebrew Professor £20. But these sums were occasionally varied during the last years of Holyoke's administration; the grants to the President were diminished, and those to the other officers increased, leaving the total amount the same. It may, therefore, be confidently stated, that during the whole presidency of Holyoke, the aggregate of grants to all the College officers never exceeded, and probably

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fell very far short, of four hundred and fifty pounds a year; and this sum may be regarded as the general rate of grants to these College officers, until the adoption of the Constitution of Massachusetts, in 1780.

"These annual grants were voted expressly as 'gratuities' to the officers designated; of consequence, they never entered into the College treasury, nor appeared on its books. They added nothing to the permanent funds of the institution, were occasionally varied, according to the view taken of its other resources, and were always graduated on a scale which would enable those officers and their families merely to exist. The amount was, in effect, annually repaid to the community by an equivalent reduction of assessments on the students.

"The College is indebted to the bounty of the legislature of the Province for Massachusetts and Hollis Halls, and for one thousand pounds, lawful money, towards building a President's house; and to its sense of justice, for Harvard Hall.

"In the eighteenth century, the only lands given by the Province to the College, were reservations, in grants of new townships, made with a view to the future advantage of the institution. Thus, in the year 1719, two hundred and fifty acres were reserved by the General Court, for Harvard College, 'in each of the two townships on the westerly side of Groton,' afterwards called Townsend and Lunenburg. Between the years 1762 and 1774, rights were also reserved to the College in twenty-five townships, lying in the eastern part of Maine, some between the Penobscot and the St. Croix, others east of Saco River. In twenty-three of these townships one sixty-fourth was thus reserved, and, in the remaining two, one eighty-fourth part. These reservations were estimated at 12,500 acres, and were intended as some indemnity for the loss of the College library by fire in 1764, which the rebuilding of Harvard Hall did not compensate. The value of these lands, at the time of the grants, it is not easy, at this day, to ascertain. It is only known that townships in that part of Maine were then and afterwards sold from nine pence to one shilling an acre. Many years elapsed before any benefit was received from these reservations, and the College was deprived of some of them. Townsend was afterwards included within the bounds of New Hampshire, and, as an indemnity, a reservation was made, in 1771, in another township. But with many of the other reservations, made in favor of the College by the provincial legislature, it was finally lost, the lands being regranted by the legislature of Massachusetts, after it became a state, without any regard to the College reservations.

"We have thus recapitulated, with as much exactness as the

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nature of the subject admits, all the grants, donations, and reservations made by the General Court, in favor of the College, during the Colonial and Provincial times of Massachusetts." — Vol. II. pp. 226 – 230.

Further, as to later times ;

"The legislative patronage of the College, after the peace of 1783, was limited and equivocal. In 1785, the General Court regranted fourteen of those eastern townships, in which the provincial legislature had made reservations in favor of the College without any provision for the rights accruing from those reservations. In 1787, the Corporation memorialized the legislature on the injustice of this proceeding, and remarked, 'that, while the citizens of the State have, in all instances where they have lost lands which have been granted by the Court, from a deficiency of title, received grants in lieu thereof, the College has been ousted of, or has not had laid out, at least *six thousand acres* of land, which had been granted by the provincial General Court. They reflect with peculiar grief at the omission of the grants of land in fourteen townships between the Penobscot and St. Croix rivers, as it seems to be pointedly aimed at them, the College having done nothing, of which they are sensible, to merit this punishment ; on the contrary, it has suffered immensely, at different periods, in the funds, rather than run counter to the designs of the government as to the paper currency.'

"The directness and urgency of this memorial had no influence at the time. But in June, 1790, a more just spirit actuated the members of the General Court, and they passed a resolve, which 'granted and confirmed to Harvard College three hundred acres of land,' in each of the townships within which reservations had been made in its favor by the provincial legislature.

"In March, 1785, the College was also devested of its right to the Ferry between Boston and Charlestown, the most ancient of all the colonial grants, by the erection of the 'Charles River Bridge.' The legislature, indeed, provided that the grantees, during the term of forty years, should pay the College £200 a year ; but the bridge, at the end of the term, was to become the property of the Commonwealth, 'saving to the said College a reasonable and annual compensation for the annual income of the ferry, which they might have received, had not said bridge been erected.'

"Although an annuity was more convenient than the receipt of incomes from the ferry, yet £200 was no fair equivalent in

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value for the rights devested. The Corporation, as the records prove, had maintained the ferry for nearly one hundred and fifty years, with great trouble and often with little emolument, in the anticipation, that its revenues would increase, in proportion to the population of the country. During the period between 1775 and 1781, the ferry had been supported at an actual loss; £300 had just been expended in repairing the ferry-ways, and the College was beginning to receive £200 annual rent, with an apparent certainty of a great annual increase. At this moment, the General Court established the bridge, and limited the future income of the College from this source, to the exact sum it was then annually receiving, thus depriving it of that increasing revenue, which the legislature of 1640 intended it should receive in all after times.

"In the year 1792, on passing the act establishing West Boston Bridge, the interests of the College were so far regarded by the legislature as to provide for the payment to it of an annuity of £300, (which in a short time was reduced to £200,) during the term of forty years, appropriating it to 'the defraying the tuition of indigent scholars, or for the reducing the expense of tuition to all the other scholars,' according to the judgment of the Corporation. In 1796, this appropriation was varied, and applied to the support of permanent tutors; and, in 1800, a discretionary power was vested in the Corporation in respect to its application.

"By the above act of 1792, the rights and privileges granted in 1785, by the act authorizing the erection of 'Charles River Bridge,' were extended to the proprietors, from forty to seventy years, and for the same lengthened period the annuity was made payable to the College; but the clause, 'saving to the said College at the end of the term a reasonable and annual compensation for the annual income of the ferry, which they might have received had not said bridge been erected,' was omitted. But how valueless would have been this saving clause against power and interest, the history of the present times demonstrates, in which the bridge itself has been destroyed by the effect of legislative enactments, passed with an entire disregard of the provisions of the acts of 1785 and 1792, and also of the ancient vested rights of the College." — Vol. II. pp. 270 – 273.

In 1794, the General Court renewed the grant of a lottery, which had been made by the Provincial Legislature, for the purpose of enabling the College to erect an additional building. At a cost of nearly twenty-five thousand dollars, three quarters of which were supplied from this source,

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Stoughton Hall was erected in 1805. In 1806, the same operation, not yet discreditable and outlawed, was again authorized, and yielded twenty-nine thousand dollars, the greater part of which was expended upon a new structure, Holworthy Hall. In 1814, the fourth year of President Kirkland's administration, the Commonwealth made its only direct grant of money since 1786, by passing "An Act for the Encouragement of Literature, Piety, Morality, and the Useful Arts and Sciences," which gave to Harvard College, from the avails of a tax on banks, ten thousand dollars annually for ten years, one fourth part of the same being appropriated "towards the partial or total reduction of the tuition fees of such students, not exceeding one half the whole number of any class, who may apply therefor, according to the judgment of the Corporation." The College, thus enriched, proceeded to erect University Hall, and the Medical College in Boston, at an aggregate expense of more than eighty-six thousand dollars, while thirty-three thousand dollars more were applied to the increase of the Library and of the Philosophical and Chemical apparatus, and to various repairs and improvements in the College buildings and grounds. It was too confidently expected, that, though at a late stage of the progress of the act just referred to, towards enactment, a limitation of time had been introduced, the act would be renewed and made permanent at the expiration of the specified ten years.

The public has done very much for the College from first to last. Without doubt one might say, not without fair show of reason, that, looking to its own advantage, it would have done well to abound yet more, and to keep a more even pace with private liberality. But what it has omitted, more or less, might be more easily forgotten, were it not for the haunting memory of one thing that it has done. Here, in an item of the Treasurer's annual account presented to the Overseers in January, 1841, is the record of the fate of that ancient grant of the ferry across Charles River, to which relate some statements in the last extract above. Here is the epitaph of the Commonwealth's last surviving helper in the carrying on of Harvard College.

"For amount of Charles River Bridge Annuity,
on account of which nothing has been received for several years past, now *written off*, $11,111·11."

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That dismal record on the wrong side is set down, alas! in another account book besides the Treasurer's, even the fair, clear, incombustible ledger of History; and as long as History shall keep her books, there is no possible way to set such a matter right, and show a balanced page, but by an equivalent counter-entry. The Massachusetts people, it is true, are one thing, and the Massachusetts legislators of this or that year, another. The latter may do a wrong, which the former, when they look at it, may abhor. But if, abhorring, they do not take care in their own good time to redress it (redress being possible,) the sheriff will be after them too, when sentence comes to be pronounced in the high court of a sternly just posterity. Might never makes right, but for the duration of one age. The sense of right that rises up in the next is much mightier; and the whipped craven of injustice crouches as helpless under the well-bestowed lash as he had just now towered secure and insolent.

We conclude our disconnected remarks by simply saying, that, — in common, we suppose, not only with other friends of the College, but with numerous others whose tastes prompt them to look into a curious chapter of American history, — we acknowledge great obligations to President Quincy for the pleasure and instruction derived from his volumes. We expected to find in them the authentic results of diligent research, and accordingly a valuable contribution to the completeness of existing aids to an acquaintance with the men and doings of the ancient times. But we confess we did not expect to find them so fruitful in entertainment, and in materials for engaging and profitable, as well as (to a patriot) complacent, reflection. We did not expect to see a record of the fortunes of a single institution of learning, taking the place, which this seems to us destined to take, among works in historical literature. Unless our interest in its central subject affects our judgment to a degree hardly to be supposed, it is not a book to be welcomed and enjoyed by the friends of Harvard College alone, nor by either of the small classes of New England, or of academical, antiquaries, but one which will sustain permanent claims on the attention of the general student of history.

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ART. V. — *On International Copyright; in a Letter to the Hon. William C. Preston, Senator of the United States.* By FRANCIS LIEBER. New York. Wiley & Putnam. 1840. 8vo. pp. 67.

BOOKS, once a rarity and luxury, are now among the most familiar of familiar things; and this very familiarity may induce a reader entirely to forget or overlook their authors. It does not occur to all, in turning the leaves of one of those little volumes, to reflect upon the protracted working of the brain, the lassitude of the body, and the prevention often of the night-watches, which have given birth to the pages that they have traversed in haste, or but dipped into, to serve some present and passing purpose. They have not a thought of the deep anxiety fast settling into disease, or the flushed excitement amounting almost to insanity, with which the timid student or the ambitious child of imagination may have waited for the issue of the fruit of his toil from the dark and mysterious hands of the printer into the broad day-light of actual publication. Yet the records of literary history are full of the pains with which the surcharged feelings of the heart have overwhelmed the unhappy man of letters. The strained fibres have too often cracked asunder, and the misery and the life of the unfortunate author have ended together. We will mention, in this place, the cases of but two writers, as a specimen of the wear and tear of sentiment to which a surrender to intellectual pursuits as a means of subsistence, too frequently subjects the votary of literature.

When we repeat the homely title of "Sally in our Alley," it may awaken in our readers, of the one sex at least, reminiscences of a time, when the chanting of those lines, accompanied perhaps by the melodious whistle of some musical companion, has excited a passing tender or even romantic aspiration after an absent "darling of the heart," though the name of *Carey*, the author of the ballad, may have been altogether unknown. No Englishman, however, can fail to have heard of the man to whom his country stands indebted for both the words and the music of "God save the King"; and appreciating, as Americans do, the national enthusiasm, which recognises, with an instant movement both of the head and of the heart, the sound, let it reach us when it will, of our own

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"Hail Columbia" or "Star Spangled Banner," we can well sympathize with the sons of our fathers in their exulting sensations at the swell of their glorious national anthem. And yet, while poor Carey's songs and his music were heard from one end of England to the other, and as he walked the streets of London or loitered around its theatres, where, perhaps, some of his dramas were then amusing a crowded house, and the familiar echo of his own compositions could scarce fail to reach his ears, the sense of his utter destitution and of the absolute disappointment of his hopes of independence or competence was gnawing at his heart, and driving his mind into the horrid conception of self-murder. To this sad fate was he at last impelled by the despair of ill-regulated feeling, and when found dead by his own violent hands, a single half-penny in a corner of his pocket formed the whole moneyed fortune of the luckless Henry Carey.

The name of *Collins*, a name fairly ranked among the highest on the scroll of poetic fame, is of course more familiar to the readers of English verse, than that which we have just mentioned. His imagination, vivid and unrestrained, rendered him a martyr to the lyre, and finally made shipwreck both of his reason and his life. There is a tenderness in his thoughts, and a freshness in his poetic pictures, which none of his fellows have surpassed. Disappointment however succeeded to disappointment in his literary projects, and eventually broke his spirits, while they repressed his at first vigorous exertions. The harsh Johnson blames him for his *irresolution*. It was, alas! the stern effect of immediate necessity, and the wavering of a mind broken and confounded by the awful dreariness of his hard lot. The neglect with which his efforts were received seemed to portend, to the ill-starred bard, an oblivion of his name and works, which, to his ardent fancy, was more intolerable than the grave; and his life, though the scene is relieved by an occasional gleam of sunshine, was on the whole a life of want, uncheckered even by that Hope which in his famous Ode he has so beautifully described. Leaving the metropolis at last, utterly disheartened, and consigning to the flames a collection of his odes, "he retreated," says one who could appreciate his sensations, "to his native city of Chichester, in a state almost of nakedness, destitute, diseased, and wild with despair, to hide himself in the arms of a sister." But even a sister's tender care failed

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to solace his convulsed intellect; and though subsequently the death of a relation placed the means of a comfortable support to a certain extent within his reach, yet fortune came too late with her offerings, for his mind had been driven from its moorings, and his restless body roamed through the country in search of that peace, which he was never fully to realize upon earth. He loved to haunt, by day and night, the aisles and cloisters of the Cathedral of his native town, attracted by their dim religious light, and to mingle (often to the dismay of the choristers) his own moans with the chanting of their solemn anthems. Fortunately for the unhappy author, he did not journey entirely without a compass. An English Testament was his constant companion. To the querist, who asked him the name of the work under his arm, he answered, "I have but one book, that however is the best." On his tomb is preserved this record of what Collins looked to in his last days as his comfort amid his trials. In his epitaph it is said, —

> "He joined pure faith to strong poetic powers,
> And in reviving Reason's lucid hours,
> Sought on one book his troubled mind to rest,
> And rightly deemed the Book of God the best."

To recur to our first train of thought. Casual observers not unnaturally regard a book as a mere trifle, amid its kindred millions; as a crumb cast upon the waters, it matters not by whom, and subject to be appropriated at will by the first who may gather it. We propose then, for a brief space, to turn the attention of our readers to the claims of authors; to the full understanding and recognition of their proprietary rights.

If there be one description of property, which, more than others, challenges protection from governments, and acquiescence from all, it would seem to be that of an author in his works. The civilians tell us, that the right to any thing with a sensible existence, is founded on occupancy alone. To the first powerful appropriator of the soil or its fruit, or to the lucky huntsman of the beasts of the forest, the sympathy of his fellow-men accorded the rights of a proprietor; and each succeeding advance in the acquisition of wealth and the accumulation of its subjects, is, they say, but the result of the application of man's industry to objects already in being. In

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mechanical inventions and improvements, it is the thought indeed, which is of value; yet this is embodied and exemplified, and made beneficial, only by the new arrangement and combinations of separate portions of matter previously existing.

The fruits of an author's brain have higher and juster claims to consideration. They are, by creation, his. His title to them partakes, in a small degree, of the essence of that power, which called the universe out of the darkness of chaos. A bountiful God has spread out before man, external nature in all her beautiful and useful forms, and offered it to the industry of all alike; but He has further bestowed upon each individual of the race a store-house of the mind, where he finds deposited a sacred treasure, — by the free gift of Providence, his own. The heaven-born ideal furniture of the brain, who can shape it, who control it, who appropriate it, but its immediate possessor, or the great originator of all things? The flowers of wit and fancy, more beautiful often than the pictured face of the fairest garden, what stranger may gather them? The sublime works of the Almighty's own inspiration, more awful than nature's most gigantic forms, or even the terrific strife of contending elements, what spoiler dare seize upon them?

The question respecting a property of authors in their composition, is now at rest both here and in England; the decision having been favorable to the abstract right, but against its existence, subsequently to the passage of copy-right laws, except in subservience to the provisions of those laws. These vary in different countries. In England, the author has his copy-right for twenty-eight years certain, and if alive at the end of that term, it lasts during his life. In Denmark, the right is perpetual. In Russia, it extends until twenty-five years after the author's death, and in Holland and Belgium until twenty years thereafter. In Italy and Switzerland, practically, but little protection is granted. In France, the right is conferred by special laws; and finally, in this country, an author is confirmed in his title for the space of twenty-eight years, and if he, or, in case of his decease, his widow, or any of his children, be still living, it may be enjoyed for fourteen years more.

The main argument on the subject has engaged, from time to time, the abilities and the learning not only of the ablest

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lawyers, but of some of the most distinguished literary men of Great Britain. It was contended, in opposition to the author's right, that his labor and invention conferred no property beyond the manuscript in which his thoughts are transcribed; that the moment in which the copy is handed to the printer witnesses the gift of all its contents to the public, and that what was before individual, instantly becomes common. By this doctrine no description of property was admitted, which did not rest upon occupancy. Invention and labor employed upon matter, were said to amount merely to this. But what kind of occupancy could be asserted with regard to merely intellectual ideas? Property, to become such, must be abstracted by its proprietor from what was before common, so that others may be apprized of the assertion of title. How novel, then, the occupancy of a thought! How Utopian these new settlements in the domain of fancy! How fictitious such ideal lodgments! What ear-mark has an idea? how distinguish it from the roving crowd? It is nothing visible; it can sustain no qualities or incidents; it exists but in the mind, incapable of acquisition or enjoyment, save by intellectual possession or apprehension. No fraud, no violence can diminish or injure it; no onset can reach it; it lies safe in its own immateriality. Further; what tokens of a particular proprietor have mere ideas? Is the bare addition of the writer's name to the title-page of his book an essential sign of ownership? If the property be his, the use of his name is superfluous; if not, such a prefix can confer no right. Many, too, have written, not for profit, but incited by a nobler ambition. They have panted for fame, and for the good of their fellow-men. Some, less pretending, have ushered forth their works without a name. Should they be in a worse condition than their more ambitious brethren? Such, it was supposed, are the phantoms that an author would grasp. Queen Mab, it was said, might well rule in the circles where such rights prevail, but they are entirely unsuited to the practical purposes of life.

But higher ground was taken by the opponents of literary property. It was argued, that nature contemplated a community of thought; that it is the duty of every man to add his drop to the great ocean of ideas and of language, and to swell the constantly increasing tide of literary treasures. From those mines there should be no extracts for coinage. The

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government should claim no seignorage, nor individuals demand exclusive dominion ; they should rather cast, with prodigal profusion, their bread upon the waters, looking for a return in the equally lavish generosity of some like favored child of genius. As the highest evidence of this gift to the public, by an author, of the fruits of his intellect, did the advocates of this doctrine regard the very act of publication. By this, he unhinges the door of the cage, and turns loose the bird, to flutter under the free air of heaven, and to fall, too, into the net of the first successful fowler. Like the owner who lays open his land to the highway, the author dedicates his thoughts to the public, unreservedly and irrevocably. No mental reservation can restrain or qualify the gift ; no condition, no art, reclaim or tempt back the fugitive ; but, like the dove from the ark of Noah, having found a resting place, she returns no more to the dwelling of her former master.

To this specious train of reasoning, the substance only of which we have presented, and which is undoubtedly captivating by its ingenuity, it was well answered somewhat after this fashion.

The right claimed for authors is the incorporeal right to the sole printing and publishing of something intellectual, communicated by letters, in a set form of words, sentences, and modes of expression. This is a right detached from the manuscript, or from any physical existence whatsoever. No transfer of the paper on which the composition is impressed, can transfer this right. The position was well illustrated in two cases, both relating to works of standard English literature. We will barely mention them.

Besides the original manuscript, there existed a single copy of Clarendon's celebrated History of the Rebellion. The first, in the possession of the Lord Chancellor's family, was subsequently destroyed by a fire at Petersham, the other had passed into the hands of a Mr. Gwynn. This gentleman, — had his been then the only copy in existence, — possessed the power of destroying, Vandal-like, and for ever, this beautiful work, and of depriving all future time of the profit and pleasure derivable from the perusal of so unique a production. The paper was his. He could have cast the manuscript into the fire without responsibility to any one, and every record of its valuable contents would have disappeared in its ashes. Mr. Gwynn, — and this was at the distance

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of one hundred years from its composition, — chose rather to publish the History without the consent of Lord Clarendon's representatives ; and his conduct in various ways cost him very dear. The right of the author's family to the publication of his works was fully vindicated.

The other case was that of Pope's letters. The famous correspondence of this poet with Dean Swift was transferred from the possession of the latter into the hands of a printer ; the notorious Curl, of Dunciad memory. The sheets upon which these letters were written were undoubtedly the property of the Dean. He could have done what he pleased with the mere paper. Pope had retained no copies, and had a very imperfect recollection of their contents. Swift could have lent them to his friends, concealed, or destroyed them ; but it was determined that printing and publishing were not in his power, nor in that of any one, without the consent of the writer. Pope stopped the publication by means of the strong arm of the Court of Chancery.

Upon the principle of this decision, we may remark in passing, rests the sanctity of private correspondence ; its security constituting one of the most delicate and important points in social intercourse. The paper used by us in letter-writing becomes the property of our correspondent. He may tear up or burn our letters ; but the thoughts, the ideas, and the feelings are, and continue, our own ; and without our consent they can never rightfully see the light. Once deny the proprietorship of authors, and the most intimate confidence could be abused with impunity. The ladies, at least, who, it is said, could not exist without a liberal communication of sentiment, will appreciate the value of this right.

Let us, however, resume the argument.

Upon what principle is it maintained, that the right of the author exists *before* publication, and not *after* ? Technical objections to the kind of property hold as well in the one case as the other. Each is equally incorporeal, and without its distinctive marks. When and where did the property in the former case commence, and why should it cease at publication ? It does not follow from the fact of publication, that the author gives to the public more than the right of perusing, reselling, destroying, if you please, the copies ; he does not necessarily part with the privilege of being himself the only person authorized to multiply copies by republish-

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ing the work. Why suppose this? Look at the consequences. The author may not only lose the expected profit, but also his actual expenditure. He is no longer the master of his own name. He parts with every control over the correctness of his own work. He cannot prevent additions, nor retract errors. He can neither amend nor cancel a faulty edition. His imperfections may be perpetuated against his will, and sentiments of which he disapproves, repents, or is ashamed, may be propagated without his control. Neither the manner of the publication, nor the person by whom it is to be done, is at his option. In a word, the author would be entirely at the mercy of others, and his literary reputation, in respect of which most men are as justly sensitive as of their honor, would be disfigured and marred without redress. The term, *piracy*, sufficiently designates public sentiment, in its application to literary pilfering.

What then, — to sum up the argument for authorship, on this point, — is the foundation of the right? Simply, justice. It is eminently just that every man should reap the rewards of his own labor and invention. It is just that another should not use his name, to his own profit, without his consent. It is expedient too, as well as just, that an author should judge when, if ever, to publish; that he should select the manner and the extent of the publication, and the persons to whose honesty and accuracy the work shall be intrusted. In a word, it is just that each one should do with his own as he pleases.

And shall any distinction be made to the disparagement of the latter, between the labors of the body and those of the mind? Shall the nobler part of our nature have the worst treatment? Shall the workings of the spirit, with which his grosser portion has less to do than with any other operation of man, be placed lower in the scale of value than those wherein the body is the active minister? Shall we be behind the but half-civilized and warlike ancients in our regard for intellect and intellectual men? It is written what Alexander did, in the destruction of Thebes;

> "The great Emathian Conqueror bade spare
> The house of *Pindarus*, when temple and tower
> Went to the ground."

And even the rude Spartans made obeisance to the literary superiority of a vanquished rival.

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— "the repeated air
Of sad Electra's poet had the power
To save the Athenian walls from ruin bare."

It has been well said by the elder D'Israeli, that "authors of all classes in the community have been the most honored and the least remunerated." There can be no question of the truth of this remark. We have mentioned before some instances which would verify it. Others could readily be added. After a long life spent in the service of the booksellers, Smollet had scarce the ability to raise the funds to carry him to a cheaper residence, and a more genial air, in order to recruit his exhausted frame. He died in penury, and amid strangers. But after death there were not wanting honors in abundance. Ornamented columns rose to his memory, and his very grave seemed to multiply the editions of his works.

The class of authors seems, indeed, to be peculiarly entitled to protection by law, against improvident and necessitous bargains; as young heirs or expectants of estates are prevented from ministering to the urgency of the moment, by the barter of future, and far more than compensatory, value. Experience has evinced the need of some such provision. And besides this, literary productions have special qualities or incidents not attached to most kinds of property. Their appreciation by the public is often very slow, and the tardiness of the acknowledgment is not seldom proportioned to the real merit of the work. "Paradise Lost" was sold for the sum of five pounds, with conditional stipulations for fifteen pounds more; and lay, as we all know, in obscurity for many years. When true criticism discovered and displayed the gem, its value expanded almost beyond estimation. When Hume published the first volume of his History, it was received with such coldness and indifference, that its author would have abandoned his native country, disgusted and almost broken-hearted, had not war prevented him. More fortunate however in this respect than the poet, he lived to reap the profuse applause of his countrymen. No one would print the manuscript of "Robinson Crusoe," when offered by Defoe, till a bookseller of a speculative turn got hold of it for a trifle, and made a thousand guineas by it. Burn's "Justice," and Buchan's "Domestic Medicine," are books, which in England yield steady annual incomes; they were procured from

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their authors for a mere song. The "Vicar of Wakefield" was sold in the hour of distress,—of course for comparatively nothing; and "Evelina" produced the fair composer but five guineas. Some of our readers may remember how poor Chatterton was compelled by want to bring every production of his genius down to a statement of pounds, shillings, and pence, and to strike the balance of an account as the little incidents of life affected the current price of his ware. There was found among his papers a memorandum, stating "that by the death of the Lord Mayor of London, a political essay which he had penned, had been stopped in its publication. For it, he was to have received a small sum from the bookseller. He therefore puts down in the account we have referred to;

"Lost by the Mayor's death, on this essay - £1 11*s.* 6*d.*
Gained however in Elegies and essays thereon £5. 5*s.*"

The favorable balance stands recorded thus;

"I am glad he is dead by - - - - - - £3. 13*s.* 6*d.*"

The copy-right law should be so altered as to extend its term at least to a century, for the benefit of the author and his representatives; or what would be much better (for it would guard in a great degree against his stripping himself of his future interest in the success of his performance), it should confer upon authors and their heirs a certain per centage on the profits of each edition, similar to what is, or at least what was done in France to the descendants of Corneille and Molière, who were entitled to a provision from the theatres, upon each representation of the plays of their great progenitors. Omitting, however, a discussion of that general question, we shall offer a few remarks upon a topic, which has been much agitated here and elewhere.

By existing law, the rights of literary property are confined in their duration to the limits mentioned in the copy-right, which vests in authors and their representatives the exclusive enjoyment of their works, and the sole right of publishing and vending them for a term of years, renewable under certain conditions. These laws have, of course, no extra-territorial effect. Every other nation, therefore, regulates the matter in her own way; and ours confers upon foreign authors no privileges whatever; recognises no right of property in

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their works; protects their productions in no way against mutilation and piracy; in a word, draws that distinction between the products of mind and those of matter, the injustice of which we trust has been sufficiently exposed. An effort has heretofore been made to remedy this grievous wrong, and to place this country, in the liberality of her legislation, at least upon a par with the monarchical governments of Europe. In England, the chief laborer in behalf of literary property is one who has adorned his profession of the law by the cultivation of his intellect, and the indulgence of a refined taste for letters, and who has connected his name for ever with the bright list of her scholars and poets; we refer to Serjeant Talfourd, the distinguished author of "Ion."

This subject was brought, not long since, to the notice of our community, by an address to the Congress of the United States from almost all the eminent living authors of Great Britain. They came to us, they said, as suitors for justice, — to ask protection for their property. And why should they not receive it? Do we refuse it to their goods in other shapes? If not, why withhold it from their writings? Reciprocity and the comity of nations, should secure it at our hands. It is well known that in both England and France, American authors may claim the copy-right of their works, and enjoy all the fruit of their labors which the markets of those extensive countries afford. One of those nations is eminent for that refined courtesy, which postpones one's self to the convenience and advantage of a stranger. Her museums and her galleries, her Institutes and her halls of learning, are opened widely and gratuitously to foreigners. Foreign genius is fostered; foreign taste refined; the productions of foreign talent welcomed. This is done not at all to her own disadvantage. She receives the full equivalent in various ways; for it is an agreeable truth, as predicable of nations as of individuals, that no one ever suffers loss from his politeness. An American who has traversed France, encountering everywhere the attentions and the courtesy of her people; who has scrutinized her repositories of art and science, enriching his mind and cultivating his taste; who has found the very circumstance of his being a stranger a passport to consideration; and who, if an author, has the full protection of the laws extended to the exertions of his intellect; may well blush in answering the interrogatory of a native of that country, whether *his* works would be protected in the land of Cooper and Irving?

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It is a trite remark, that letters are not fostered by republics. If the governments of Greece or of Italy be appealed to as instances to the contrary, it is immediately answered, that literature in them flourished but under the auspices of some powerful families or individuals who have gained all the glory of its cultivation. It was Pericles who gave his name to the age. It was the Medici who laid the offering of wealth at the feet of genius. It was a Prince of Ravenna who received and cherished the great epic poet of Italy, when persecuted and driven from his native Florence by the violence of contending factions. The brightest era of Roman literature immediately succeeded that in which the Republic fell amid the tumult of arms, and was seen when an accomplished despot gathered around him the talent and the learning of his country. Still, there is no reason in the nature of things, why this charge against republics should longer be well founded. The day has gone by when republican virtue was thought safely to exist only by the side of rude simplicity; when contempt for the arts and the graces of life was thought a virtue; when brown bread and black broth were considered the only fitting food for young citizens. It has been long perceived that the refinements of social life, and the culture of the intellect, are not inconsistent either with personal virtue or with national security, while they are eminently conducive to national glory.

It is not our intention to dwell upon the details which an examination of this subject will furnish; but merely to bring some of the more prominent points to notice. To convince our readers of the importance of the topics under review, with reference to the amount of pecuniary interest, partially at least, involved, we may mention the sum of money at stake in the book-making and publishing business here and in Great Britain. It is estimated that in the latter country about 1500 volumes of new publications are produced every year. This is exclusive of reprints, pamphlets, and periodicals; and taking the average extent of the impression of each volume, this would yield the annual harvest of 1,125,000 volumes. Reprints, particularly of school books, are very frequent. Including these, and adding pamphlets, periodicals, and all other publications, and selecting an average publication price, the total value of works annually produced in Great Britain may be set down at £750,000. In the United States, the in-

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crease of the book trade has taken place principally since the year 1803. Before that time few books were published, besides the Bible and some elementary school books. Every thing else was imported.

In the year 1803, that eminent bookseller, the late Matthew Carey, of Philadelphia, published, — the first, we believe, in America, who did so, — the Bible in the quarto form, and kept the types permanently standing. At this day, it is said, that 200,000 persons are connected with the manufacture of books, and the capital employed in the business is estimated at $ 35,000,000. About $ 500,000 worth of books, is each year sold at the public Trade-sales, held in different parts of the country, — a faint imitation of the famous book fairs at Leipsic, — and five bookselling establishments are said to have disposed, in the year 1836, of books to the amount of $ 1,350,000.

Our literary propensities are, therefore, considerable. Of this, further proofs will be presented immediately. Whether they incline in the right direction, is a point of more doubt, upon which a word shall be said before closing our article.

A diminution, no doubt, in the profits of publishers, and in the convenience and enjoyments of American readers, would be experienced ; but it is not for us to enrich ourselves at the expense of foreigners. Valuable works, however, would not be excluded from the country. Authors are too eager for fame and for the wide dissemination of their productions, to prevent both by the excessive valuation affixed to them. Books which were worth the purchase would readily command publishers here. Of others, the land would be well rid.

Any increase of price, on the other hand, would be more than compensated by the superior style of the works. The present republications of English works are almost consumed in the use. They are printed to be read, not to be preserved. There can scarcely be such a thing as a careful or beautiful edition of a popular book, such is the race-horse speed of publication. When curiosity is gratified, there is not sufficient encouragement to authorize the issue of a second, correct and well-bound edition. The people are on tiptoe for some new romance of horrors, or some tale of the affections ; the publishers must gratify the desire for this new Cynthia of the minute ; and as it can be done at a moderate rate to pur-

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chasers, and at great profit to themselves, every other consideration becomes of inferior moment.

Let us direct our attention for an instant to the extreme amount of injustice done to foreign authors by an appropriation of their property.

The field open to publication in the United States is of an extent perfectly unique. There is nothing of its kind, which can be compared to it, in any part of the world. In this country all classes read. Almost every man, woman, and child in the Union perused the novels of Walter Scott. They pervaded every nook and corner of our immense territory. They were found in the tavern and in the workshop, as well as in the study and the boudoir. The same may be said, though in a less degree, of some of his contemporaries and of his successors in the line of romance. Who reaped the benefit of these enormous issues? The author, who was in reality the manufacturer of so much property? Not a dollar reached his pockets. The profits were received by strangers, who had no claims to them but the prior appropriation and publication of them in this country. Take a single instance from the list of the Waverley novels; that of Ivanhoe. The circulation of this book in the United States, within a few years after its appearance in England, amounted to about fifty thousand volumes. How many have been since published, we are not informed. This was but one of twenty equally popular works. Can we conceive of a more splendid patrimony to have descended to the family of their great author, than that which might have been derived in America from the copy-right of his immortal productions? Can we fancy one more honorable as well as profitable? How readily might all the pecuniary difficulties, which darkened the evening of the life of the Knight of Abbotsford, have been relieved from such a source? The welcome tribute of a grateful people would have been poured into his lap in rich profusion; and those hours, which were embarrassed and harassed by pressing engagements, beyond his ability to discharge, and which compelled that glorious Northern luminary to set amid clouds, might have been passed in cheerful hilarity, brightened by an abundant harvest, the fruit of his own honorable exertions. Instead of the cheerless prospect of ruin and poverty opening upon his fading vision, and of the lordly castle which he had reared and decorated in the extreme of artificial beauty vanishing from his possession, like

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one of his own mere fictions of the fancy, his latter days, so far as earthly considerations could have affected them, would have been spent in that freedom from care, that seclusion from the all-engrossing business of life, which are so desirable, nay, so essential to those who are drawing near to the tomb.

One topic of paramount importance we have not yet touched; the interests of American literature. What has been its condition heretofore? What is it now? It has been proclaimed by foreigners to be one of comparative mediocrity. Admitting the qualified truth of the charge, to what causes is it attributable? In reflecting upon this subject, we cannot but attach very great influence to the state of things growing out of the want of an international copy-right law. From this, have proceeded two consequences, each of them hostile to the progress of the American mind; one, the flooding of the country with the trash of the British press, and the other, the positive depression to which our native writers have been subjected. We will add a few remarks upon each of these points.

The introduction of the Waverley and other standard novels into the United States, at no cost to the publishers, and the desire on their part to extend their circulation, and with it, their profits, by the printing of very cheap editions, deluged the country with mere works of imagination and fiction. These so warped the public taste, that scarcely any thing else became desirable; and every romance, it mattered not how offensive to good taste, or deleterious in its influence upon public morals, was eagerly welcomed.* An occasional biography or book of travels relieved the monotony; but it may be safely asserted, that the tribe of novels composed three-fifths of the provender which was offered for the literary craving of Americans. The hunger for this species of writing, which, of all others requires the most rigid discipline to be even innocuous, grew with what it fed on; and the result was the banishment of the higher specimens of British literature from the hands of the great mass of readers. The older writers of England, poets as well as prose writers, became almost unknown. Bacon, Sir Thomas Browne, Milton, Spenser, Sir William Temple, not to mention the divines

* To use the graphic though homely expression of an English writer, our people were, on this head, "children in mental stature, and of course preferred sucking sugar-candy."

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and metaphysicians of a somewhat early day ; who cultivated an acquaintance with these ? We speak not now of the few scholars who would, of course, hold such authors precious indeed, but of the community of readers. Shakspeare was preserved from falling into forgetfulness by the influence of the stage ; but who studied him critically ? To descend a little lower in the order of time, — passing by Dryden and the dramatists who succeeded Shakspeare (all entirely neglected), — and arriving at the Augustan age of English literature, — who, among the rising generation of the last twenty years, it may be asked, selected their reading from Pope or Addison, Prior or Swift, Steele or Arbuthnot; or, to come still nearer to our own days, what countenance was bestowed upon Burke, Dr. Johnson, Cowper, Mackenzie, Goldsmith, Hume, and Stewart ? They were all forgotten in the rage for the newest romance. The impassioned poetry of Byron and Moore enchained hosts of admirers, and increased the distaste for more solid literary food.

What was the effect of all this upon our native writers ? May it not be truly said, that the national intellect was impelled, or, more properly, cornered into the production of only historical novels ? Nought else could gain popular favor. The higher walks of literary composition were deserted. No encouragement was proffered to an attempt at their cultivation. The American mind was, in the interim, undeveloped in its peculiar strength and dignity.

We have said that the efforts of native genius suffered depression. A few moments' reflection will convince us of the truth of the assertion.

Let us premise, that it is not intended to advocate protection to American mind, or to enroll it in the class of *tariffable* articles. There is talent enough among us, if it be but left untrammelled by artificial impediments ; and its developement will do all for the renown of the nation which the most ardent patriotism could desire, if popular taste do not drive it into a wrong channel. Free competition is the nurse of genius as well as of industry, while popular favor is its substantial food. What is asked for American writers, is equality, not protection. "A fair field and no favor," is their motto. It is well known, that but few in the category of authors are blessed with an abundance of worldly goods. Their poverty, indeed, has made them a standing joke for the satire of the drama. Few, born to wealth, have culti-

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vated the muses ; and, though brilliant exceptions to the general remark may be pointed out, yet it remains a truth, that the fairest flowers in a nation's chaplet have been placed there by the hands of humble genius ; by men who have reaped but scantily of the smiles of fortune, and have looked for their reward to the applause of a more discriminating and a more generous age.

American authors have been forced to contend with the opposing interests of American publishers. There has been no inducement to purchase the manuscript of a native writer, when the work of a foreigner of established fame could be obtained without cost. The train of reasoning in the publisher's mind, which would lead him to reject the hazardous experiment of printing an unknown writer's maiden effort, or even of offering the proper equivalent for that of a native author, better known to the public, may readily be supposed, and is by no means unnatural. Under such a system, then, American literature has suffered deeply.

Other reasons for the depressed condition of letters in this country have been propounded, as well by our own writers as by foreigners. These have attributed the fact to the character of our government, — in other words, to free institutions, — and to the condition of our nation, which has necessarily made larger drafts upon the physical than upon the intellectual energies of the people. This latter circumstance has doubtless had its effect upon certain branches of literature. The call upon the great mass in this country to earn a livelihood by their own active exertions, has left but little leisure, heretofore, for the refinements of life ; and there are some departments of letters which are only cultivated in an advanced state of society. But we are not to forget, that it has ever been the characteristic of the highest grade in one of the most elevated walks of literature, epic poetry, to be developed in the infancy of society. The flame then seems to burn the brightest. The feeling of the bard appears nearer to nature. The energy of the epic would seem to be frittered away amid the refinements of a high social state. It is the grandeur and the strength of original conception which impart its peculiar value to epic verse. Homer sang, — who can say, how long ago ? — certainly in the infancy of Greece. Dante was the real father of his language. The first step in the progress of his beautiful tongue was to perfection. Milton is no example of the reverse. The revolution in England, and the introduction

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of new dogmas in religion and politics, resolved society into its original elements. His subject, himself, and his times were primitive. The convulsion of the social fabric brought chaos again, and out of it, sprang forth a new world of thought and of feeling. Nature resumed her sway.

A late German traveller in this country, who has, unlike his tribe, erred only in being too partial, attributes much of our deficiency in this regard to the colonial vassalage in which we were held to England. He endeavours to prove, and he has partially succeeded, that the settled aim of the British government was to depress as well our minds as our physical greatness; and that the effects of this course of policy endured long after our revolutionary war. His views, however, though generally correct, will not cover the whole ground. Sufficient time has elapsed, and circumstances powerful enough in themselves have occurred between the two countries, to neutralize, long ago, any constraint upon American talent arising from this source. And yet, we believe, the feeling has operated on us so far as to induce a looking to England for every thing great in literature, and to nourish a disregard of our own literary capabilities. It was never the case with us in other matters. No American, as he trod the field of combat, or walked the deck of one of his nation's battle-ships, ever experienced a sense of inferiority to the proudest of his race. On the contrary, true to his Anglo-Saxon blood, its possessor has ever felt, that with God's help, he would yield to no antagonist. But alas! it has not been so in our appreciation of the literary capacities of America. We have by our own conduct given countenance and currency to the assertion of our intellectual inferiority.

What, then, directly results from these facts? That with which foreigners have so often and so severely reproached us, the want of a national literature. This is a charge that may well excite the warm feelings of every American, and induce his eager attention to the causes of the evil and its correction.

No nation can be permanently great without a literature. Countries, like individuals, die to fame without a bard to sing of their deeds. Compare Babylon in all her wealth and Eastern magnificence, and with her millions of subjects, — enjoying every physical means to challenge security against the inroads of ages, — with that one city on the coast of Greece where Plato conversed and Demosthenes thundered. The

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first would scarcely have left a name to excite the curiosity of the industrious antiquary, but that Sacred Writ has preserved her from oblivion as an awful memento of the ire of an offended God; while the Grecian city suggests at once the pleasing imagination of every thing that is exalted, refined, and ennobling.

Have we no materials from which to construct this most precious of national possessions? Are we to travel on in the pathway of time from youth to manhood, and thence perhaps to decay, with this humiliating confession on our lips? All foreigners do not judge thus of us. Even an English writer has said, "The great land of America must of course produce great poets and eminent men. With the deeds of their bold fathers before them; with their boundless forests and savannas swarming with anecdote of solitary adventure; with Niagara thundering in their ears, and the spirit of freedom hovering above them, it is clear that they do not lack material for song." Neither, let it be added, do we lack material for any other form of letters. Like Hamlet's flute, the music is there, if we knew but how to direct our breath into its hollow chamber. Are we deficient in materials of the most moving kind, for the drama, the romance, or even the epic poem? Such might be furnished in abundance from our colonial history, or the events of our war of Independence. But we have one grand theme peculiar to the country, entirely unique in character, of the deepest interest in itself, and which would readily supply subjects for every species of composition. We mean the Indian race, their habits, origin, progress, decay, and dissolution. There is a mystery around these unfortunate sons of the forest, which adds not a little of the sublime to our thoughts about them. Whence came they? is a question that often obtrudes itself upon the fancy. Are they the descendants of the scattered tribes of old Israel, vanished so marvellously from the page of history? Or are they the children of the doomed inhabitants of Canaan, whom the wrath of God drove from their homes on the shores of the Mediterranean, and who rested in their flight from their Hebrew conquerors, only in a new world across the great ocean? If so, alas! "tribes of the weary foot," your last days are no happier or better than your first. The remnant of your race may now look upon the broad Pacific, and beyond is that ancient country, where, of old, your fathers had their seats, and where, should you return, you might en-

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counter your former terrible victors, strangers like youselves in the land of their ancestors. Imagination pleases itself in speculations about these red men; and at some future day, she will furnish us, we doubt not, in the higher regions of poesy, with efforts more honorable to our literature, because of loftier flight, than even those exciting and touching tales, in the humbler path of prose, trodden so successfully by our own Cooper.

Bryant has beautifully said;

> "A noble race! but they are gone
> With their old forests, wide and deep,
> And we have built our homes upon
> Fields, where their generations sleep;
> Their fountains slake our thirst at noon,
> Upon their fields our harvest waves,
> Our lovers woo beneath their moon,
> Ah! let us spare, at least, their graves."

Themes, indeed, are not wanting,—neither, we are persuaded, is the ability or the inclination to handle them. We need but to be true to ourselves; to foster and protect our own men of letters; not drive them for support or encouragement, to the protection of strangers.

ART. VI. — 1.

南越洋合字彙

or 南越海合字彙;

Nam Viet Duong Hiep Tu Vi; i. e. Dictionarium Anamitico-Latinum primitùs inceptum ab Illustrissimo et Reverendissimo P. J. Pigneaux, Episcopo Adranensi, Vicario Apostolico Cocincinæ, etc.; dein absolutum et editum à J. L. Taberd, Episcopo Isauropolitano, Vicario Apostolico Cocincinæ, Cambodiæ et Ciampæ, Asiaticæ Societatis Parisiensis, nec non Bengalensis Socio Hono-

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rario. Fredericnagori, vulgò, Serampore, 1838. Ex Typis J. C. Marshman. 4to. pp. xlvi. 722 and 128.

[A Dictionary of the ANAMITIC Language (Cochin-Chinese,) with Latin explanations; the native words being given in the Chinese character, and in Roman letters also.]

2. *Dictionarium Latino-Anamiticum; auctore J. L. Taberd, Episcopo Isauropolitano,* etc.

[A Reversed Dictionary, Latin and Cochin-Chinese, in the Roman character; to which are added a copious Vocabulary, and Dialogues in French, English, Latin, and Cochin-Chinese, with tables of Numerals, Weights, Measures, Money, Division of Time, &c.; with a new and large Map of the Kingdom of Anam, by the Author of the Dictionary.] 4to. pp. lxxxviii. 708 and 135. Serampore, 1838.

IN a former number of this Journal* we gave some account of the important work of our distinguished philologist, Mr. Du Ponceau, on the "Nature and Character of the Chinese Writing"; and we exhibited, as far as our limits would permit, his new and striking views of that subject; views, which were first briefly explained in his letter to Captain Basil Hall, in the year 1828, and were altogether at variance with the mystical theories hitherto entertained by the Sinologists of Europe.

We ventured to say on that occasion, that Mr. Du Ponceau's able work was one of the most remarkable publications of the age; and, being well aware of the natural repugnance which all men feel to changing, or even reëxamining long-cherished opinions, however erroneous, we have had no little curiosity to observe, in what manner that work would be received by European scholars. Knowing the force of the opinions, which have been maintained by them for more than two centuries, respecting the language of the singular people of the "Celestial Empire," we were prepared for at least a total dissent from the doctrines of our learned author, if not a positive and direct attempt to refute them. But, though the volume has now been published three years, and many copies have been distributed in France and England, we have not been able to find any review, or notice of it, published in

* See *North American Review*, Vol. XLVIII, pp. 271 *et seq.*

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either of those countries, till the close of the last year; when we saw announced in the Contents of that long-established and able Journal, the London "Monthly Review," for December, 1840, an article expressly upon this work. Expecting, as we have just observed, to find an unqualified dissent from Mr. Du Ponceau's doctrines, we felt no little impatience to see the article itself, which we had understood to be highly commendatory of Mr. Du Ponceau's work, and in perfect coincidence with his views. Upon opening the London Journal, what was our astonishment to find, at the first glance, that the review was taken from our own article; and, upon a closer comparison, to discover, that, with the exception of a few paragraphs, (which in their original form had American badges attached to them), *the entire London article was a reprint, without any acknowledgment, from our own pages.*

Every reader will make his own reflections upon this act of literary piracy, and mete out the proper measure of justice to the offender. For our part, we do not place so high a value upon our own labors, as to trouble ourselves about the wrong done to us personally; we are not displeased to see American opinions, on questions of literature and science, making their way among English scholars, in the commerce of knowledge, whether openly as lawful goods, or clandestinely as articles of contraband, under the disguise of English marks and numbers. The fact of their introduction, whether secretly or publicly, proves that there is a demand for them; and this should, for the present, satisfy us.

From France, where Chinese studies are prosecuted with more zeal and interest than in England, we had been long hoping to see a thoroughly critical examination of Mr. Du Ponceau's work; but the Sinologists of Paris still observe silence. From what cause does this proceed? It cannot be from their ignorance of the existence of the work, for copies of it were sent as early as June, 1838, to various individuals and learned Societies in Paris; and, if the scholars of France were not in the way of knowing the fact in any other mode, they could not avoid seeing it regularly advertised, among other important works, on the covers of their "Journal Asiatique," published every month, under the patronage of the Asiatic Society of Paris. The same number of that periodical which had one of these advertisements (in February, 1840,) contained also a review of the Cochin-Chinese Dictionary of Bishop Taberd, the title of which

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is at the head of this article ; but no allusion whatever is made to Mr. Du Ponceau's labors in this department of philology. In the same journal, too, for August, 1840, we observe the Annual Report, by M. Jules Mohl, "on the Progress of Asiatic Knowledge" giving a cursory review of the works which have appeared on that subject since the year 1829, and including the Cochin-Chinese language ; under which head he notices Taberd's Dictionary, but observes a profound silence in respect to Mr. Du Ponceau's able work, notwithstanding it contained two Vocabularies of the same language ; the first, we believe, ever published, and which an eminent French orientalist had, several years before, considered to be of so great value, that he requested permission to print them in Paris. How, then, are we to account for the silence, which has been so long observed in France, in regard to our learned countryman ? who, we may add, is also well known to them as a member of their own National Institute. Are his new views unsound ? Let them be exposed. If sound, let the truth be magnanimously acknowledged, from whatever quarter it comes, and however unpalatable it may be to make the avowal. That this silence is the silence of contempt, we will not for a moment believe.

In our account of Mr. Du Ponceau's work, we stated, that the circumstance which led to its publication was, the receipt of the two manuscript vocabularies of the Cochin-Chinese language above mentioned, belonging to the valuable collection of that excellent establishment, the East India Marine Society, at Salem, in this State ; to which association they had been presented by the late Captain John White, of the American Navy, whose "Voyage to the China Sea" is known to every reader, and who had thus rendered a most important service to the literature of his country ; while he had set an honorable example, which we hoped would be followed by such of his brother officers, as might have an opportunity of aiding their countrymen in literary and scientific researches. The value of these two Cochin-Chinese manuscripts at that period may be judged of by the fact, already stated, that they had been requested for publication by some of the orientalists of France, who were ambitious of being the first publishers of them ; there having been no similar work published on the language at that period, so far as we are informed, either in Europe or Asia.

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Those persons, who have not had occasion to reflect upon the value of particular facts, or cases, in philological researches, may be ready to ask, why so great importance is attached to publications on the Cochin-Chinese, or, more accurately speaking, the *Anamitic* language. We answer, in the words of Mr. Du Ponceau;

"The languages of Tonquin and Cochin-China, and, in general, the Ultra-Gangetic idioms, are very little known in Europe, and even in British India. The Tonquinese and Cochin-Chinese are sister languages to the *Chinese*, which they not only resemble in the derivation of their words, but in their monosyllabic character and grammatical structure; and their *graphic* system is evidently borrowed from that of China. *A comparison of those languages, therefore*, as spoken, and written, is a subject of considerable interest."*

These considerations led that learned writer to avail himself of all the aid afforded by the two manuscripts above mentioned, for making such a comparison of the Cochin-Chinese language with that of China; and by that means obtaining further views of the real structure and character of the latter. For the results obtained by his able investigation, and which, as before observed, are at variance with the received opinions among European scholars, we must refer the reader to our former article; though we shall make occasional reference to them in the course of our remarks upon the volumes before us. We only take occasion here to observe, that the facts stated by M. Taberd in his Dictionary, after a residence of thirteen years in Cochin-China, and sixteen years devoted to his work, abundantly corroborate the views taken by Mr. Du Ponceau.

That able philologist had observed, in respect to the language of China;

"I have never been able to bring my mind to concur in the opinion so generally entertained, that the characters which the Chinese employ in their writing, and of which the Cochin-Chinese and other nations also make use, are what is called *ideographic*, that is to say, that they present to the mind *ideas* unconnected with *vocal sounds*, so as to make what is called an ocular language, of which words are only the *pronunciation*; and, consequently, (for the consequence appears to me

* *Dissertation on the Chinese System of Writing*, pp. 1, 2.

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necessarily to follow,) that it is a system of *pasigraphy*, to be read alike in all languages; which absurd consequence appears now to be abandoned by philologists. But the fact of the Chinese characters being read and understood by the Cochin-Chinese, Japanese, and other nations speaking different languages and ignorant of that of China, is to this moment asserted by missionaries, travellers, and even learned philologists in Asia and Europe; so that logic is forced to yield to the weight of authority."

The learned author adds, that the two Cochin-Chinese manuscripts of the Salem East India Marine Society, will, he hopes, go a great way towards deciding this question; and he then enters upon a course of reasoning to show, as he does conclusively, that the assumed fact just mentioned, is *not a fact*; and, consequently, that the whole of the ingenious theory, which "learned philologists" have built upon it, is so far demolished. It will not be uninteresting to see, how entirely the facts stated by the editor of the present copious Dictionary establish the conclusions, which Mr. Du Ponceau's sagacity had arrived at by the help of his comparatively slender materials. M. Taberd gives a summary view of the essential facts in question, in the Preface to his Dictionary;

"It is now incumbent upon me to give a brief account of the Anamitic characters and language. There is no doubt, that the Anamitic language had its origin in the *Chinese;* for their characters not only have a great affinity to those of the Chinese, but are borrowed, some of them entirely, and others in certain parts, from them. But the *characters*, or *hieroglyphics* of each nation have undergone so great a change, that the two people *do not understand* each other either *in reading or speaking*. Those who are of respectable families, indeed, study the Chinese characters; for those characters are in use in Anam, both in their laws and in legal proceedings, and some other cases. Those whose aim is high, or who are eager for offices and honors, are obliged to apply themselves with all their zeal and energy to the study of the Chinese characters; and by writing these characters, *they* can converse with the Chinese; but the *pronunciation* of the two nations is so different, that they could not otherwise hold any communication with each other. Hence *two* languages are used in Cochin-China; namely, the language of the learned, that is, Chinese, and the vernacular or common language, which is in use with everybody, and of which I am now about to treat."

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Thus we see demolished, at once, a fundamental fact in the old argument used by European scholars to prove the identity and *ideographic* nature of the *written* languages of China and Cochin-China. Mr. Du Ponceau had said, after an examination of the two little vocabularies already mentioned;

"*I cannot resist the conviction* that forces itself upon me, that the inhabitants of Anam [Cochin-China, &c.] *cannot read Chinese books*, or converse in writing with others than their countrymen by means of the Chinese characters, except to a very limited extent, *unless they have made a special study* of those characters as applied to a different language than their own; or, in other words, *unless they have learned Chinese.*"*

So says also the learned Bishop Taberd, in the quotation above given from his Dictionary.

Again. Mr. Du Ponceau had remarked;

"In adopting the Chinese characters, the Cochin-Chinese appear frequently to have paid more attention to the *sound* than to the *meaning* of the Chinese words, to which the characters belong. Thus, the character, *san*, which in Chinese means *drizzling rain*, is applied in Cochin-Chinese to the word *sam*, thunder; the character *chouang*, white frost, to *suong*, the dew; *kin*, metal, to *kim*, a needle, &c." . . This shows, he adds, "how natural it is to consider written characters as representative of sound. This, I am well aware, will hardly be credited by those Sinologists, who consider ideas to be inseparably inherent in the Chinese characters. The learned M. Jacquet, to whom I communicated some of these examples, appears to consider those anomalies as resulting from the addition or subtraction of some strokes in the running hand of the Cochin-Chinese, so that the characters might always be found to be bad imitations of some, which have in Chinese the same meaning as in Cochin-Chinese; he, however, candidly acknowledges, 'que c'est plutôt trancher la difficulte que la résoudre'; in which I entirely agree with him."†

Now upon this point, the adoption of Chinese characters by the Cochin-Chinese, let us see how entirely Bishop Taberd harmonizes with Mr. Du Ponceau.

"The common language [of the Cochin-Chinese] is, indeed, written in Chinese characters; but it often happens, that those

* *Dissertation*, Introduction, p. xxvii. † Ibid. p. xxvi.

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characters do not retain either the *pronunciation* or the *meaning* which they have in Chinese. Some of them sometimes retain the Chinese *signification*, but have a different pronunciation; as, for example, 人, *man*, is pronounced by the Chinese, *jin*, and by some *jen*, but by the Anamese, *nho'n*.* Others, again, tenaciously keep the *pronunciation* alone; as 叱, *cha*, which is also pronounced *cha* by the Chinese, but does not *mean* the same thing, for in Chinese it means *to be angry*, and in Anamese it signifies *father*. Again; some of their characters retain very *nearly* the same *pronunciation and meaning* as in Chinese, but have, in addition, a meaning and pronunciation very different from that language; as 明, *bright*, or *brilliant*, is pronounced by the Anamese, *minh*, and by the Chinese *ming* or *mim*, (according to the varying orthography of Europeans,) and means *bright* or *brilliant*, as used by both nations; but this same character is further used by the Anamese for *mâng* or *mừng*, to *congratulate* and *congratulation*; and hence its meaning and pronunciation can only be known by the context and structure of the expression. If, for instance, they write 明鏡, *minh kinh*, a mirror, the word *kinh* being placed after the word *minh*, sufficiently indicates, that its original pronunciation and meaning are to be preserved; but, if in a letter, for example, they should write 敬明, then usage and custom require, that they should understand, that the meaning and pronunciation are not *kinh minh*, but *kinh mừng*, a *salutation of respect and congratulation*. It often happens, also, that two characters are used together to write one Anamitic word; and those characters we call properly and truly Anamitic, as being so employed to indicate a certain word or pronunciation used by the nation; these characters we have distinguished by an asterisk in the table of *Keys* at the end of this Dictionary. Of these two characters, one designates the *signification* of the word, and the other, its *pronunciation*.

There is great irregularity in the use of the characters which the Cochin-Chinese apply to determining the *pronunciation* of compounded words. For, when they use Chinese characters in writing their own language, they almost always pronounce

* The orthography here is taken from the Portuguese language, in which the letters *nh* have the sound of the Italian *gn*.

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them differently from the Chinese ; and the same character is often pronounced in four or five different ways, according as it expresses different things, or is applied to different objects. For example, 吝, *lan*, is used for the Latin *tenax*, *avarus*, in their pronunciation, and according to Chinese usage, though the Chinese pronunciation is *lin*. Now the same character is used by the Anamese for the Latin words *decipere*, *superare*, *vices*, &c.... Further ; since there are in the Chinese language many characters having the same pronunciation, it frequently happens, that two Anamese will not use the same characters to express the same sound, or, the same writer will sometimes use one of such characters, and sometimes another of them, for that sound ; . . . indè opus, indè labor."*

We now proceed more immediately to the Dictionaries before us.

Until the publication of the two Vocabularies annexed to the work of Mr. Du Ponceau, very little attention had been given by scholars to the Cochin-Chinese (or, as more accurately designated by the generic name, the *Anamitic*) language ; under which latter term is included the language of Tonquin (or *Tonkin*) as well as that of Cochin-China.† According to Bishop Taberd, it is not only the language of the two last-mentioned kingdoms, but is also spoken by many, and understood by more, in the neighbouring countries of Cambodia (Camboja) Laos, Siam, and Ciampa (Champa), into which regions it extended itself by the common means of wars and conquests. At the close of the fifteenth century, the king of Tonquin occupied certain provinces bordering upon his territory, but subject to the sovereign of Champa. In the sixteenth century, a Tonquinese family, called *Nguyên*, having deserved well of their sovereign, obtained from him the office or dignity of *Chúa*, that is, Lord, or *Viceroy* ; the rank of *Vua*, or king, being reserved for the sovereign himself. The government of the two provinces taken from the king of Champa was given to the family of the Chua *Nguyên*. In the same century, that family threw off the yoke of the king of Tonquin ; and thence sprung the kingdom of Cochin-China, called by the natives *An Nam*, or Peace of the

* *Dictionarium Anamitico-Latinum* Pref. pp. i, ii.

† In White's *Voyage* the name of the language and the country is incorrectly written *Onam* instead of *Anam*, or *Annam*.

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South. The name of *Cochin-China* was given to it by the Portuguese, in order to distinguish it from *Cochin* on the Malabar coast. It has various names among the natives, as *Nam Viêt*, or *Viêt Nam*, that is, *South Viêt*, and *Dai Viêt*, that is, *Great Viêt*. After various rebellions and revolutions, the government was at length recovered by the family of the original sovereign, who took the title of *Emperor*, and who was succeeded in 1820 by one of his sons, the present emperor, *Minh Mang* (or *Mingming*, as some write it), that is, "Illustrious Fortune." With this sovereign, we may add, by the way, that the United States lately attempted, but without success, to establish diplomatic relations; of which some account is given in the Voyage of the sloop-of-war Peacock, under the command of Captain Geisinger. This emperor, however, is represented as being more disposed than his predecessor to cultivate intercourse with foreign nations; and he has, it is said, reduced the duties on foreign ships resorting to his ports.* So that, through this channel, as well as by our missionaries, we may expect at some future day to obtain more precise information of this almost unknown region and its inhabitants.

The Cochin-Chinese language is, as Mr. Du Ponceau observes, a sister language to the Chinese; and Bishop Taberd remarks, that there can be no doubt, that it is derived from that origin. The derivation of words, the monosyllabic character and grammatical structure, and the graphic system, are evidently borrowed from the Chinese. To those persons, therefore, who take an interest in these inquiries, a brief account of the *Cochin-Chinese* language will serve the further purpose of communicating some information respecting the general character of the *Chinese* also.

European grammarians have, as was natural, endeavoured to arrange all languages, however differing in idiom and other particulars, under the same classification of parts of speech and inflections with the Latin, from which we derived our rules of grammar. The author of the present Dictionary accordingly adopts the usual arrangement; but under each class he points out in what respects the part of speech in question differs from the corresponding one in the European languages.

* *Chinese Repository*, for April, 1837, p. 456.

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The Anamitic language, of course, has proper and common *nouns;* but nouns are also formed from adjectives by an affix, *su*, a thing; as from *lanh*, good, entire, they have the noun *su-lanh*, goodness, entireness, &c.

Genders are not designated by any inflections of the noun, but the sexes are distinguished by certain auxiliary words; as, in the human race, the word *trai* denotes the male, and *gai*, the female; in speaking of animals, generally, the words *duc* and *cai* are used for the same purpose; as *bo duc*, a bullock, *bo cai*, a cow; while the sexes of birds are again distinguished by the words *tróng* and *mái*, as, *gà tróng* a cock, *gà mái*, a hen. But to the names both of rational and brute animals, they usually prefix the word *con*, equivalent to son, daughter, offspring, little one, &c.; thus the word *con trai* means a son, or male offspring; *con gái*, a daughter, or female offspring; *con gà mái*, a hen, *con cá*, a fish. They continually use the word *cai* also before the names of material and artificial things; as, *cái ban*, a table, *cái hom*, a bow, &c.

The *numbers* of nouns are formed by adding certain words, *chúng*, *nhúng*, *cac*, *pho*, &c. Example; *toi*, I, *chúng-toi*, we; *no*, he, *chúng-nó*, they; *nhúng-ke*, all who; *phô-ông*, lords, &c.

Cases are not known in this, as in the Latin language; the noun, in what we should call the nominative case, always precedes *active* verbs, but sometimes follows those verbs which we designate as passives or neuters. Thus, *toi day con* signifies, I teach the son; but if the order should be inverted, *con day toi*, the phrase would mean, *the son teaches me.* The relation, which we should denominate the *genitive* case is determined by juxta-position, it being always the *last* of the two nouns which come together; as *cha con*, the father of the son; but if we say, *con cha*, then it means the son of the father; *chu nha*, the master of the house; *nha chu*, the house of the master, &c. The *dative* case is generally distinguished by the word *cho* placed before the noun; as *cho nguòi*, to any one. The *accusative* commonly follows the verb; but there is no certain rule for this. The *vocative* is expressed either by the word *o* or *a*, or by prefixing the title of the person called upon; as, for example, with a pronoun we should say, *O Chúa tôi*, O my God! The *ablative* is determined by certain prepositions.

Adjectives are commonly placed after the noun; *cua tốt*, a

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beautiful thing; *cua xâ'u*,* a bad thing. The comparative degree is expressed by subjoining the word *hon*, more; as, *tôt*, beautiful, *tôt hon*, more beautiful; and the superlative degree, by the words *lam*, or *rat*, and others; as, *tot lam*, *rat tot*, most or very beautiful.

Pronouns. *Toi*, I; *may*, thou; *no*, he; *chung-toi*, we; *chung-bay*, ye; *chung-no*, they. But politeness rarely allows the use of these. In the *first* person, the king uses the word *trâm*; superiors use the word *tao*, *ta*, *min*; inferiors, generally, the word *toi*, a servant. In the *second* person, among equals, the word *anh*, brother, is used; to a superior, *ong*, lord, or, *nguoi* or *ngai*, person. In the *third* person they seldom use *nó*, he, that one, except contemptuously, or when the person speaking is much superior to the person addressed; it is more proper to say *ong ay*, the lord, *nguoi ay*, the person, or *anh ay*, the brother.

Possessive pronouns are expressed either by the word *minh* which signifies *his* or *thine*, or by the annexation of the personal pronouns to the noun.

The *demonstrative* pronouns *this* and *that* are expressed by the word *nay*; as, *cua nay*, this or that thing.

The *relative* is denoted by *la-ke*, *ke*, *la-su*, or by the common word *thuoc ve*, to belong to; as, *anh la ke da noi*, it is the brother who spoke. But if a superior, as God, or the king, is referred to, then *ke* cannot be used, but we must substitute *dâng* or *dúng*, &c.

The *Verb*. There is, properly speaking, no *conjugation* of the verb; but by means of certain particles, they designate three principal times or *tenses*. Thus, the word *mên*, signifies to love, and *toi mên*, I love; and by adding the word *da*, already, now, the preterite is formed; as, *toi da men*, I have loved, or, I loved. The particle *se* denotes the future; as, *toi se men*, I shall love.

The particle *hay*, before the verb, and sometimes *di* after it, denote the *imperative mode*; as, *hay lam*, do thou; *lay di*, take thou.

Other *tenses* may be formed by means of different particles.

In order to express the *subjunctive* mode, they use *cho chi*, I would that (*utinam*).

The *infinitive* is indicated by the simple verb; as, *men*, to love.

* The *x* in this and other words is a soft *sh*.

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It should be observed, that the verb *to be* is most commonly not expressed, but understood.

The *participle*, for instance, the present, *loving*, is rendered as a substantive, *a lover*, *ke men*.

Certain forms of expression may be used for a *passive* voice; but it is more conformable to the idiom of the language, to change the phrase into the *active* form; thus, instead of saying, *I am loved by God*, to say, *God loves me*.

Adverbs are numerous, to denote quantity, place, time, &c.

The *prepositions* correspond substantially to those of the Latin language; and *conjunctions* are also used to couple words and phrases. *Interjections* are numerous.

It is worthy of particular notice, that *abstract* forms of speaking are not according to the genius of the language; but the *concrete* form is more used, as is the case in the languages of the American Indians. For instance; to express the act of *carrying*; if on the head, the word is *doi*; if under the arm, *cap nach*; if in the hands, *bung*; if on the shoulders, *vac*, &c. So in expressing the act of *eating*, to eat rice, when spoken of a common person, would be *an com*; of a superior, or of a mandarin *thi com*; of princes and nobles, *xoi com*; and whatever the king does, whether to eat, drink, go out, come in, &c., is expressed by the particle *ngu*; for example, the king drinks tea, *Vua ngu tra*; the king approves, *ngu che*; the king speaks, *ngu phan*, &c.

Thus far we have considered the written language of Cochin-China; but we cannot omit a brief notice of the spoken language. In doing this we shall proceed upon the hypothesis of Mr. Du Ponceau; that the written characters in this, and its kindred language, the Chinese, whatever may have been their origin, are now merely the representatives of the oral language, or of words, and not of the ideas without reference to the words; just as is the case in the languages of Europe, and in all others where a written character is known. And in this connexion we cannot but advert to a remark of the eminent scholar, whom we have before cited, M. Bazin, in his Notice of the Dictionaries under consideration. That learned writer says;

"M. Taberd discloses to us also the existence of *two* languages in Cochin-China, the one a learned, and the other a common or vulgar language. It is known, that *this phenomenon has existed in China from time immemorial;* the Chinese have a learned language, a *conventional* idiom, it is true, and *which has*

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never been spoken ; but, besides that, a common or vulgar language, which is in many respects admirable, but of which the pedagogues of China never speak except with a contemptuous hauteur ; so difficult is it to get rid of old habits." *

We have read this remark many times over, in order to be sure that we understand the learned writer ; but, after much reflection, we can discover no other meaning than the obvious and common import of the expression. Can it be possible, then, that the Chinese or any other nation, have a language, "a conventional idiom" *which has never been spoken* ; in other words, a language *which could not be read aloud?* Assuredly, there must be some misconception here ; we do not find that M. Taberd has described the learned and vulgar languages of Cochin-China in the manner here supposed ; and such a written language cannot exist among any people, unless we may consider the deaf and dumb as an exception ; but they only adopt a written language which would be spoken by them, as well as by others, if nature had not denied them the use of the organs of speech. If such a *written* "conventional idiom" does exist, formed without any reference to *spoken* language, we approach very nearly to the conclusion, which no Sinologist, we believe, has been hardy enough directly to maintain, that written language existed before oral. It is true, however, as Mr. Du Ponceau observes, in his letter to Captain Basil Hall, that some Sinologists "affect to call the monosyllabic *words* of the Chinese language the *pronunciation* of the characters, which leads to the direct inference, that the words were made for the signs, and not these for the words. A justly celebrated French Sinologist, M. Abel Rémusat, does not indeed believe, that a language was *invented* to suit the written characters after they were formed ; but he supposes, that some then existing popular idiom was *adopted* to serve as a *pronunciation* to the graphic signs.†" "One step more," adds Mr. Du Ponceau, "and hardly that, and written characters must have been invented before men learned to speak."

The language of Cochin-China, (like that of China,) is pronounced with more of a musical intonation, than is used in the European languages ; though even to these last, the

* *Journal Asiatique*, for February, 1840.
"† *Mélanges Asiatiques*, Vol. II. p. 52."

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old observation of Cicero may be applied; "Est in dicendo etiam quidam cantus obscurior."* This, to the ear of an European, gives to their spoken language, in some degree, the character of *chant* or *singing*, which, as Captain White used to say, resembled the recitative of the Italian opera. Father Morrone, in one of the vocabularies which he presented to Captain White, makes the following remarks on this point;

"When the Cochin-Chinese speak, *they sing*; and they have *six tones* in their pronunciation. The marks of the tones are five; that is, *a*, *à*, *á*, a^2, *ã*; the first of the tones has no distinguishing mark; for it is, as it were, the fundamental tone, (or key note,) of the others, and upon the greater or less elevation of the voice on this tone, depends that of all the others."

We stop here a moment, to notice a remark made upon the *tones* by M. de la Palun, the late French Consul in Virginia, who was a pupil of Abel Rémusat in the study of Chinese, and to whom we are deeply indebted for the aid, which he so obligingly rendered to Mr. Du Ponceau, in making a comparison of the Cochin-Chinese words of Morrone's Vocabulary, with the corresponding characters in the *Chinese* language. That gentleman observes, "We can hardly believe the Cochin-Chinese have *six* tones."† The assertion of Morrone, however, we now find is supported by Bishop Taberd, who expressly states the same thing; Quinque numerantur sonorum signa . . . quando nullum ponitur signum, tunc vox dicitur *plana*; unde quinque sunt signa, *sex* vero toni."‡

Father Morrone then attempts an exemplification of the tones by means of musical notes; which, however, M. de la Palun purposely omitted to publish with the rest of the manuscript, because, as he asserts, "it has been long since demonstrated, that those notes cannot represent the pronunciation of any language, and that it is in vain that missionaries have endeavoured to show an analogy between two systems that have nothing in common between them."

But, if musical notes cannot represent the "pronunciation" of a language, may they not be used to denote the relative

* *Orator ad Brut.* xviii.
† *Prelim. Observations in Du Ponceau's Dissertat.* p. 141.
‡ *Dictionarium Anamitico-Latinum in Proœmio*, p. 6.

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pitch of the tones used in speaking any language? If there is a difference of pitch, for example, between the voices of a man and a woman, or a child, which everybody perceives, — if, again, there is among men, a difference between a base and a tenor voice, and among women, a distinction between a contralto and a soprano, — most clearly these differences may be designated in speech as in singing, by some visible marks; and probably no species of notation will be found more convenient for denoting them in speaking, than that which is used in music; as will be apparent from the use constantly made of it in the Italian opera. But, without meaning to enter into an argument on this point, we have thought that Father Morrone's Musical Exemplification of the tones in Cochin-Chinese, as being the first that has been known in modern times, out of Asia, will be somewhat of a curiosity, and at the same time will supply a deficiency existing in the printed edition of his Vocabulary; and we accordingly here subjoin it, from the original manuscript;

Tôi u'o'é-ao Chu - - tàu tro - vê nhà min'h cho khoe
Je souhaite, que le Capitaine s'en retourne en sa maison avec très bonne
manh. Duc Chúa Tro'ì o' cùng ông, cung o' cùng các an
santé. Le bon Dieu soit avec Monsieur, et avec tous ses com-
h'uu mình kháp' moi no'i hoaì hoaì — Nghi.
pagnons par tout, et à jamais — Adieu.

From this sketch of the language of Cochin-China it will be at once perceived, that it has the common characteristics of the Chinese and other monosyllabic languages of the East; as, the use of the same word for a verb, noun, or adjective at pleasure; and the absence of all inflections, which renders

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it the more necessary to resort to the juxtaposition of words in order to determine their meaning in a sentence. In our own language, indeed, this takes place in a very remarkable degree; and though we are not accustomed to observe it ourselves, it does not escape the notice of foreigners. The late eminent philologist, Baron William Humboldt, says, that in some of our modern languages, especially in English, phrases of considerable length may be constructed "which are perfectly Chinese."* This remark may be illustrated by an example given in Dr. Marshman's valuable Chinese Grammar, where the author observes that the word *sound*, if it follows an article, is a substantive, *a sound;* if it follows a personal pronoun, it becomes a verb neuter, as *I sound*, *they sound*, or, with an object, an *active* or causal verb, *they sound the bell;* or, if placed between an article and a substantive, it becomes an adjective, as *a sound vessel.* So much does the meaning and grammatical character of words in English, as well as in Chinese and Cochin-Chinese (to say nothing of some other languages), depend upon their juxtaposition.

The truth is, as we remarked in a former article, that the people of all nations, Europeans as well as Chinese, utter themselves, not in single syllables, or words, as we usually call them, but in whole sentences, or masses of vocal sounds, the portions of which sentences or masses are arranged in different orders, with or without inflections, as the case may be, and according to the idea intended to be conveyed by the entire sentence taken as an integral expression of thought; and each sentence may, in a certain sense, be called a word, whether it consists of one syllable or of many. Such is human speech by nature; and the analyzing of each sentence into single words, and each word into syllables and elementary sounds, is an artificial process of the grammarians, who philosophize upon the constituent parts of human speech, as the anatomist does upon the component parts of the human body. In numberless instances, too, this analysis of sentences is wholly insensible to the ear, and can only be perceived by the eye, when the sentence is expressed *in writing*. The very name of the country, whose language is the subject of these remarks, is written sometimes in two words, *Cochin-*

* *Lettre à M. Abel Rémusat*, p. 16.

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China, and sometimes in one, *Cochinchina*; and if a person in reading to another should meet with such words as *something*, *sometimes*, *welcome*, *welfare*, and numberless other compounds of this sort, the hearer could no more determine by his ear alone, that those were single words, than he could, that *some one*, *some day*, *well made*, &c., were not single words. Hence the common remark of persons who are learning a foreign language, that even after they can read it, they cannot understand it when spoken, because they cannot tell where one word ends and the next begins. But, for the further developement of these views, we are obliged to refer the reader to our former article.*

We cannot dismiss this subject without adverting to the learned "Critique Littéraire," or Notice, of Bishop Taberd's Cochin-Chinese Dictionaries, published in the "Journal Asiatique" for February, 1840, by M. Bazin, the elder, an eminent French Sinologist, the translator of the "Chinese Theatre," and a professor of Chinese in the "Écoles des Langues Orientales," at Paris. We had hoped to find in this Notice, some discussion of the true character of the Chinese and kindred languages, with some allusion, at least, to Mr. Du Ponceau's work; but we have been disappointed. The Notice is very brief, probably for want of time amidst the onerous duties of a professorship, which must require unremitting attention. We observe, however, that M. Bazin proceeds upon the received opinion, that this and the Chinese languages are *ideographic*. He says;

"The Cochin-Chinese, in writing, make use of *ideographic* characters, which at the first glance we might take for Chinese, but which so far differ from them, that the Chinese and Cochin-Chinese *hardly understand each other* better by *writing* than by *speaking*. Not that the external form of the characters, of which the Chinese and Cochin-Chinese systems of writing are composed, has experienced the slightest alteration; but the difference consists in this, that the Cochin-Chinese [Anamitic] characters present particular combinations of images, or associations, which do not exist in the Chinese writing."†

There can be no doubt, that the written characters of the Cochin-Chinese do in fact present, or call up in the mind, combinations of images, or associations, which do not exist

* *North American Review*, No. CII. pp. 291 *et seq.*
† *Journal Asiatique*, No. L. Fevrier, 1840, p. 139.

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in Chinese writing; but, if Mr. Du Ponceau's views are just, this is not because those written characters are *ideographic*, but because they are the representatives of *spoken words* which do not exist in Chinese. And to expect a Chinese to understand a Cochin-Chinese, because the latter use written characters substantially resembling those of the former, would be not altogether unlike making the inference, that a Frenchman and an Englishman must understand each other's language, because they both employ the same Roman characters in writing it. *

M. Bazin further observes, that

"Generally there prevails great confusion in the use which the Anamese make of the Chinese characters. It is not uncommon for one character to be pronounced in four, or even five different modes, according to the idea which it expresses, or the graphic sign which it accompanies; . . . . and M. Taberd has much reason to say, *inde opus, inde labor.*"

How great the difficulties are in Cochin-Chinese, from the cause here mentioned, compared with the difficulties occurring in the study of other languages, we will not undertake to say; but we cannot help thinking, that in regard to the Chinese family, they have been much magnified by the mystery which has so long enveloped it. On this last point, the *pro-*

* In tracing the history of the Chinese characters, we have been surprised at a statement of the late M. De Guignes in respect to his authorities. In his Preface to the great Chinese Dictionary of Father Basil de Glemona, which was translated and published by M. De Guignes, (as well as he could, under the peremptory orders of Napoleon to complete it in three years!) and which goes under his name, he has the following remark; "'It is useless,' says Father *Ko*, 'to inquire what was the origin of the Chinese characters,' &c.; . . . . and Father *Cibot* adds, that 'we cannot pronounce any thing with clearness or precision on the origin and invention of the characters,'" &c. Upon which M. De Guignes gravely observes; "After this decision by *two* learned missionaries, the *first* of whom, a *Chinese by birth*, was able to ransack all their books in order to establish a fact so interesting to the glory of his nation, it would be a vain undertaking for any European to attempt to determine at what period the Chinese characters were invented," &c.

This reference of M. De Guignes to Father *Ko* and Father *Cibot*, as two different missionaries, and the former "*a Chinese by birth*," surprised and amused us. We had always taken it to be a known fact in literary history, that *Ko* and *Cibot* were names of the same man, the name of *Ko* having been assumed by Father *Cibot*, a French missionary at Pekin. It is so stated by Mr. Du Ponceau (Dissertation, p. 8); and even the passage quoted by M. De Guignes, shows him to be a Frenchman. No *Chinese* Father *Ko* was ever known to have been in France; and in China he could never have learned French so well; his style is not at all Chinese.

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nunciation of the same character in several different ways, it is obvious, that a similar embarrassment exists, to a greater or less degree, in other languages. In English, every one of the elementary characters, which we call vowels, has more than one sound, and some of them have four or five, without any discriminating mark to guide the reader ; and in regard to entire words, it may be observed, for example, that in one large class of them there is an established difference of accentuation, that is, of pronunciation, which makes the same word (or *character*, as they would say in Chinese) take the signification of a noun, or verb, as the case may be. On the other hand, there are numerous instances in the European languages, where, as in Chinese, the same pronunciation is given to different words, or characters ; Mr. Du Ponceau has given examples of them in the English words *fain*, *fane*, and *feign*, and in the French words *cens*, *cent*, *sang*, *sans*, *sens*, *sent*.

We have extended our remarks upon the general subject of Chinese studies, from a desire to remove in some degree the mystery which has so long surrounded them, and to convince the zealous student in philology of the truth of the assertion of M. Rémusat, that the Chinese language " may be learned like any other, *and does not require any greater effort of attention or memory.*" *

On the particular subject of the *Cochin-Chinese* language we will only add, that the French newspapers inform us, that there are now in Paris two natives of Cochin-China, who are the lions of the day ; and, from the stimulus given by their presence in the circle of French Sinologists, we may expect further discussions and developements than we have yet had in their literary journals.

* *Preface* to *Chinese Grammar.*

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ART. VII. — 1. *North American Boundary. Part 2. Correspondence relating to the Boundary between the British Possessions in North America, and the United States of America, under the Treaty of* 1783. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty. July, 1840. London: T. R. Harrison. Folio. pp. 57 and Appendix.

2. *The Right of the United States of America to the Northeastern Boundary claimed by them. Principally extracted from the Statements laid before the King of the Netherlands, and revised* by ALBERT GALLATIN, with an Appendix and eight Maps. New York: Samuel Adams. 1840. 8vo. pp. 179.

IT has been our province already, many times, to call public attention to the difficulty existing between the Government of Great Britain and that of the United States, on the subject of the Northeastern Boundary; we fear, that, to judge by the present prospect, it may be our duty to do so many times hereafter. There is no appearance of any disposition in either party to concede a jot of its position, or to enter into any compromise whatever. Under these circumstances, it is difficult to foresee a termination to this dispute, unless it be one of a very unpleasant kind, which may at any moment be brought on with suddenness by the irritation felt, and the provocations mutually rendered, by those who live close to the boundary line. In the condition of things that actually exists along the whole of the eastern border of Maine, from Calais, which lies opposite to St. Andrews, up to Houlton, that adjoins to Woodstock, a great share of responsibility falls upon those with whom the government of the adjoining territories is intrusted. A slight indiscretion upon either side might occasion consequences which no subsequent prudence could entirely remedy. We are happy to believe that nothing of the kind is at present to be dreaded, and that, so far as their personal disposition is concerned, Governor Kent and Sir John Harvey are inclined to do every thing within their power to maintain those friendly relations between the two countries, which are vitally important to the happiness and prosperity of both.

If we were to judge of the temper and disposition towards

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the United States, of Her Majesty's ministers at home, from those manifested in the Report which makes the substance of the correspondence named at the head of this article, we should not be slow to arrive at conclusions respecting the probable end of the controversy. To do so, however, would, in our belief, be very unfair to them. They have no motive conceivable to sanction what they must know to be wrong. They are too high-minded, however earnest may be their desire to secure certain desirable ends to their own country, to wish to arrive at them by a resort to dishonest artifices. We should be glad to say the same for some of the agents they have employed; but we cannot. They have been doing their best to embroil the two countries still more than they have ever yet been embroiled, by this controversy. And, not satisfied with parading as much of disingenuous argument as they could devise, they have sought to infuse into it as invidious a character, and as sneering a spirit toward the United States, as it would readily admit. We deeply regret, for the sake of the two nations, that such agents were ever employed, and still more deeply, that, after they were employed, Her Majesty's ministers did not exercise that supervisory function over the result of their labors, which might be calculated to prevent the unnecessary multiplication of obstacles to an amicable adjustment, over and above the number that already exist.

It appears by the volume, whose title is first placed before our article, that on the 9th of July, 1839, Messrs. G. W. Featherstonhaugh, and Richard Z. Mudge, received the instructions of Lord Palmerston, Her Majesty's Secretary for Foreign Affairs, requiring them to proceed to New Brunswick for the purpose of making investigations respecting the "nature and configuration of the territory in dispute between Her Majesty's Government and the Government of the United States of America, and to report which of the three following lines presents the best defined continuity of highland range;

"First. The line claimed by the British Commissioners from the source of the Chaudière to Mars' Hill.

"Secondly. The line from the source of the Chaudière to the point at which a line, drawn from that source to the western extremity of the Bay of Chaleurs, intercepts the due north line.

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"Thirdly. The line claimed by the Americans from the source of the Chaudiere to the point at which they make the due north line end."

It is evident, from an examination of these instructions, that the British Government had a distinct, and to them a highly desirable object in view. It was that of ascertaining by positive examination the nature of the country in the disputed territory, and thus of gathering materials, upon which their own construction of the terms of the treaty might be most strongly supported. With this intention they ordered the survey of three distinct lines of boundary; the first of these being the old line as it had always been laid down by the British, in the former argument upon the subject; another, the old line as claimed by the Americans; and in addition to these, a third, a different, a new and an intermediate line, which might by possibility obviate the objections that had been raised against the other two. Under such very simple instructions, it would seem as if nothing could have been plainer than to execute them. True, it would have required much time, and the Commissioners had none to spare, if they were expected to report as they did report, in April of 1840. But it does not appear, that they were under any absolute restriction in that particular. The shortest period, in which they could have been expected to reach the ground of survey after their departure from England, must have brought them to the last of August. They had, therefore, owing to the severity of the climate in that high latitude, only the months of September and October to operate in. It appears by the result, that this was all the time they actually devoted to the duty assigned them. It cannot, therefore, be wondered at, as the Commissioners did not feel themselves at liberty to apply for another opportunity to conduct their operations in the next season, that they left the greater part of that duty unperformed. They actually examined but one of the three lines pointed out to their attention in their instructions, and that one was the third or intermediate line, which had never before been suggested by either party. Having examined that, apparently with some care, and having cast a hasty glance at the others, not sufficient to report concerning them, but quite sufficient to make them objects of comparison, they returned, as directed, to spend the winter at home, and to make up a map suitable to accompany their Report.

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The Commissioners probably discovered, in the course of their review of the materials which they had provided to make up that Report, that they would prove utterly unsatisfactory to their own government. They must have seen at once, that they had made no tolerably accurate survey of any line but the second of those mentioned in their instructions, and that if they were to furnish a return of that only, it would make little or no figure upon paper, and would render strikingly perceptible the absence of the desired information respecting the other two. In these circumstances, the expedient which they adopted was a singular one. They dismissed all notice of their actual survey, excepting as a secondary matter. They assumed the position of judges of the documentary and historical evidence touching the disputed question of boundary, upon which they do not appear to have been required to express any opinion, and they thus supplied by an elaborate argument upon the question of title, the absence of the investigation, to the full extent that they were bound to make it, into the nature of the country, the title of which was in dispute. Hence it follows, that but a quarter part of the body of the Report has any reference to the instructions which appear upon its first page, and the other part is a gratuitous examination of matters, with which the Commissioners, in our opinion, should have had nothing to do.

We take it for granted, from the known character and reputation of the Commissioners, that Colonel Mudge was the author of that useful portion of the work, which furnishes all the information respecting the survey, and that Mr. Featherstonhaugh alone supplied the remainder; and this we do, notwithstanding the fact, that both names appear signed at the bottom of the Report. In such circumstances, we suppose that both gentlemen must be held responsible for what it contains, a result which we regret much more for the sake of the first named, than of the other. We, from the outset, regarded the selection of Mr. Featherstonhaugh to perform a part of the duty, as an eminently unfortunate one. He had resided many years in the United States, had been employed under its government, had figured rather too pompously for his own reputation under the self-assumed title of "United States' Geologist," and had not escaped pretty severe animadversion upon the means used by him in making up his Report in that capacity. It certainly was not very satis-

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factory to the citizens of this country, to perceive that an individual, who had been studying the surface of their territory at their expense, was suddenly attempting to put what knowledge he might have acquired of men and things by years of observation among us, at the service of another, and so far as this question went, a hostile Government. It looked a little too much like the spirit of those knights of the middle ages, who passed from one side to another exactly according to the ratio in which they could make the value of their labors estimated in money. Hence it happened, that without having any fault to find with Mr. Featherstonhaugh personally, we regretted his appointment, and apprehended it would never conduce, in any shape, to the benefit of either party. Those apprehensions have now been fully realized. Mr. Featherstonhaugh has done his best to excite the evil passions of all Americans who will take the trouble to read what he has written. If he fails, it is not for the want of the will he puts into the work, but from the fact that his long residence here has done much to destroy the authority that might otherwise have attached to his name.

But, although Mr. Featherstonhaugh may have done what harm was in his power by his labor, he ought to be thanked by all Americans for the good he has very unconsciously been the means of securing them. Had he not written such a Report, it may be doubted whether Mr. Gallatin would have exerted himself so much as he has done, in publishing the book whose title stands second upon our list. Mr. Gallatin is now far advanced in life. He is one of the very few remaining among us, under whose hands the giant energies of the infant republic were moulded into form. And even at this day, he has, for certain peculiarities of mind which go to produce the character of a statesman, no equals among the generations that succeed his own. In him, there is very little of the merely brilliant; and the ambition to acquire those official distinctions which are generally the objects of so much desire with us, appears to have long since passed away. But the talent of going to the bottom of all questions of public policy, of tracing them in all their minute ramifications with a single eye to the truth of the positions to be deduced, remains with him now, as fully as it ever was possessed, and he yet retains the disposition to exercise it for the benefit of the country. Even from his retirement in private life this gen-

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tleman has several times, within a few years past, spoken as with the voice of one having authority ; and although no rabble is shouting at his heels, the wiser and more intelligent of the community still continue to look to him as one of the few oracles of the republic.

We have already mentioned that quality in Mr. Gallatin, which leads him to overlook every consideration in style but the precise expression of the idea he means to convey. The consequence is, that not many of our diffusely thinking and loosely reasoning people have sufficient patience to begin and follow his train of propositions as he lays them down and joins them together. But the benefit to be gained in the process, will fully compensate for the effort necessary to understand him. His logic has the force of mathematical demonstration ; and in these days, when a fallacy lies at the root of many of the prevailing and fashionable doctrines that float about in the world, it is pleasant to recur to a source, where, if touched at all, they are likely to be exposed. There is not a question in religion, morals, or polity, now agitated, which has been made a cover for more sophistical reasoning, than this one of the Northeastern Boundary has been made by the British. It would be a blessing to the public, if, in every other question, a similar refutation of error could be applied, to that which Mr. Gallatin has drawn up in this.

We would not have it understood, however, by what we have said, that the volume by Mr. Gallatin is devoted to the consideration of Mr. Featherstonhaugh's Report alone. That would have been giving to it a most undue share of importance in the series of British papers upon the subject. His object appears to have been, to place before the public on both sides of the Atlantic, in a condensed form, the whole of the American side of the question, as it was prepared for the most part by himself, at the period of the arbitration by the King of Holland. This has never been done before in any shape at all satisfactory. The large volume, which embraces all the arguments as well as the authorities relied upon to sustain them, was printed solely for the use of the Government, and has never been made accessible to the public at large. Neither is it likely, that, even if it had been, many persons would have taken the trouble to wade through the seven hundred pages it contains. We repeat, then, that Mr. Gallatin has done the public a great service, by concentrating,

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as few men could have done so successfully, the substance of that volume, and by presenting at a single view, the merits of the question in dispute.

But it is not with the general question we now propose to have much to do. If our former labors in this department have been of any use at all, they ought to excuse us from the necessity of repeating what we have already published. And if they have been of no use, we have no right to expect that we shall gain any thing by renewing them. It is, therefore, clearly incumbent upon us, in this stage of the discussion, to take it for granted, that our readers are informed of its principal points. Should that not be the case, we will still go on, taking the liberty to refer them to the volumes of our Journal,* in which that information may be found.

Our design now is only to consider those portions of the present Report by Mr. Featherstonhaugh, and of the answer by Mr. Gallatin, which, either by their novelty, or their singular manner of treatment, appear to merit consideration. Most especially do we desire so to expose the method in which the British side of the argument has been, in this instance, conducted, as to draw down upon it that degree of scorn from all honorable men, which it so fully deserves. In order the better to do this, we will now extract from the Report a passage at its commencement, explanatory of its general purpose.

"Having found the physical geography of the disputed territory very much at variance with all the accounts of it to which we had had access, and perceiving that the popular opinions regarding it, both in Great Britain and the United States of America, owed their origin to the previous surveys and negotiations respecting the Boundary Question, some of which surveys we found singularly at variance with our own careful observations made on the spot, as to the height of some leading points of the country, of vital importance to the question; we came to the conclusion, that the most significant of those previous estimates, and which were connected with important inferences, were conjecturally made, without knowledge of the truth, and that thus very incorrect statements had been submitted to the judgment of the Sovereign arbiter, to whom, under the Convention of the 29th of September, 1827, those previ-

* See *North American Review*, Vol. VI. pp. 117 *et seq.*; Vol. XXVI., pp. 421 *et seq.*; Vol. XXVII. pp. 496 *et seq.*; Vol. XXXIII. p. 262; Vol. XXXIV. pp. 514 *et seq.*; Vol. XLIII. pp. 413 *et seq.*

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ous surveys were to be referred. We shall, in the course of this Report, point out to your Lordship these inaccuracies in a more specific manner.

"Alive to the important bearing of this somewhat unexpected state of things, it became necessary for us immediately upon our arrival in England, to enter upon a more careful study of the diplomatic history of the dispute; in which was [?] to be found those arguments, which had been raised upon the erroneous statements we have alluded to, and which had taken so strong a hold upon the public mind in the United States of America.

"The assumption consequent hereupon, which is entertained in that country, that a particular range of highlands, north of the St. John's river, and running parallel with, and at no great distance from the St. Lawrence, is the range of highlands intended by the treaty of 1783, seemed to have suggested to the official agents, employed by the American Government under the fifth article of the Treaty of Ghent, the necessity of maintaining that the boundary proposed by the Treaty of 1783, was identical with the ancient provincial boundary, between the province of Quebec and her Majesty's province of Nova Scotia. This assertion, which appeared to derive plausibility from Mitchell's map, — a document admitted to have been much consulted by the Commissioners of both Governments at the negotiations which ended in the Treaty of 1783, — induced the British official agents, under the Treaty of Ghent, to take the opposite line, and to insist that the assertion was 'altogether' conjectural, and incapable of satisfactory proof.

"The voluminous conflicting documents, which this point gave rise to, show how much the British official agents were misled by the general ignorance which existed of the interior parts of the territory in dispute. They were right in denying that the ancient provincial boundary was identical with the range of highlands claimed on the part of the United States; but they were wrong in denying that the line of demarcation, established by the ancient provincial boundary, was intimately connected with the boundary intended by the second article of the Treaty of 1783." — p. 9.

This passage sounds as if the Commissioners had made certain very great discoveries. What these actually turn out to be, we shall have occasion to disclose hereafter. We will now confine ourselves to a notice of two parts of it, the truth of which can easily be tested, by reference to official documents. The first of them is that which relates to a pretended *assumption*, that the Americans claim a particular range of

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highlands, as the range intended by the Treaty of 1783. Now this assumption, which we perceive to have been made the basis of much reasoning throughout the Report, so far as it is one, belongs to the authors of the Report, and to them only. The Americans claim no *particular* range of highlands as the range contemplated by the treaty, for the very good reason, that they claim no highlands other than as they are connected with the specific requisition of that treaty, that they separate from each other certain rivers. It is one of the unfounded assumptions throughout the work of Mr. Featherstonhaugh, that because there are two ranges of elevated land within this disputed territory, which take a parallel direction through it, it is the duty of either Government to take the one or the other as the line of the treaty. There is no such necessity to be inferred from the words of that treaty itself. These words are, "a line drawn due north from the source of St. Croix river to the highlands; along the said highlands, *which divide those rivers that empty themselves into the river St. Lawrence, from those which fall into the Atlantic ocean.*" These highlands are to be sought at the sources of the rivers spoken of, and nowhere else. That highlands do extend in that line needs no argument beyond the simplest principle in hydrostatics, nor do we understand the Commissioners to deny it. Surveyors might spend years in measuring the elevation of every mountain in Maine and New Brunswick, and, so long as those rivers kept on in their course respectively to the St. Lawrence and to the Atlantic, the American position would never be shaken.

The other portion of this extract that merits notice, is, the singular candor of the admission, that preceding British agents were wrong when they denied that the line of the boundary described in the treaty was intimately connected with the line of the ancient provincial boundary, between her Majesty's province of Nova Scotia, and that of Quebec. This admission is apparently made with a view to carry that ancient boundary line far enough to the south to make it apply to the particular range of highlands claimed to have been discovered in the present survey. Yet, inasmuch as we shall presently see that this new discovered range does not in any respect satisfy the requisition of the treaty, and as it does not appear to have been known either in 1763, when her Majesty's abovementioned provinces had their boundaries defined by procla-

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mation, or in 1783, when the second article of the treaty was definitively agreed to, we cannot exactly perceive what necessary connexion it can have with the dispute in any shape. As to the denial of the identity of the ancient provincial boundary not "with *the range* of highlands claimed on the part of the United States," — for they claim no range, — but with the highlands dividing the sources of certain rivers described in the Treaty of 1783, the shortest way of dealing with that is, to let every reader judge of the extent of the identity by a comparison of the descriptions themselves.

For example; the Proclamation of 1763 defines the boundary between Quebec, on one side, and Nova Scotia and Maine on the other, as follows;

"From whence the said line, crossing the River St. Lawrence and the Lake Champlain in forty-five degrees of north latitude, passes along the highlands which divide the rivers that empty themselves into the said River St. Lawrence from those which fall into the sea, and also along the *north* coast of the Bay des Chaleurs," &c.

The treaty only reverses the course, and defines the same boundary to be

"Along the said highlands, which divide those rivers that empty themselves into the River St. Lawrence, from those which fall into the Atlantic Ocean to the northwesternmost head of Connecticut River."

Now all we need ask here is, whether it is possible that these two descriptions can refer to different lines? Can there be two distinct heights of land, which separate rivers that flow into the St. Lawrence from those which flow into the sea or the Atlantic Ocean? We think the very fact, that the British Government has raised a nice distinction between those two expressions of *sea* and *ocean* proves very clearly, that it was the only point of difference to be found, and that the identity in other respects of the descriptions so far as they refer to the line, was exact. Yet, to judge from the tone of the last Commissioners, the surrender of an utterly untenable position, taken by their predecessors, portends quite a new discovery of the truth.

How far the highlands, defined as reaching towards the *north* coast of the Bay des Chaleurs can coincide with the grand discovery of the Commissioners, that stretches along

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to the south coast of the same bay, we will submit to their consideration without further argument, and pass to other points. They appear not to have labored much upon that which has heretofore so severely exercised the British ingenuity, that is, whether a sea is an ocean, or what is the exact distinction between them. We presume they considered that little could be added to the argument already adduced. If so, we think them perfectly right. The British Commissioners heretofore employed, have covered themselves with glory in the field of philology. They have done much to establish the exact meaning of the words "bay," and "sea," and "ocean," and if they have not been careful in the process to avoid stultifying the ministers of the United Kingdom, who first used these terms in their connexion with the present question either as meaning something at variance with what they are now construed to signify, or else as meaning nothing at all, they have at least saved all parties to future treaties with their country from under-estimating the necessity of proceeding with amazing caution, if they would guard themselves against the consequences of ambiguity.

It has been maintained that the word "sea" in the passage quoted from the Proclamation of 1763, was wide enough in its signification to include bays, and gulfs, and oceans, and hence that the Restigouche which flows into the Bay des Chaleurs, and the St. John's that flows into the Bay of Fundy, were clearly among the rivers referred to by that word in that instrument. But the change made in the Treaty by the substitution of the term "Atlantic Ocean" for "sea," is affirmed to have been made for the sake of narrowing the signification so far as to exclude those rivers above named which flow into it only through the intervention of bays. Yet that her Majesty's ministers understood it differently in 1786, can hardly be doubted, when we see that, in the commission given to Sir Guy Carleton as Governor of Quebec in that year, the southern boundary of his province is described as "a line from the Bay of Chaleurs along the highlands which divide the rivers that empty themselves into the river Saint Lawrence from those which fall into *the Atlantic Ocean.*" Now if the Restigouche and the St. John's are not rivers to be classed as falling into the Atlantic Ocean, then there are none such in the province of New Brunswick, and the ministers must knowingly have laid down a line of boundary which

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could not be traced in the territory for the long distance that extends from the Bay des Chaleurs to the head waters of the Penobscot. Now is this credible by any person possessing common sense ? Is it to be believed for a moment, that some of the most distinguished official persons in Great Britain could sit down with a map before them to define a boundary line, and then do it in so bungling a manner as to omit to trace, in a description manifestly designed by its minuteness to be complete, any line at all for nearly one half of the southern side, and that including the whole of the division between their own provinces of Quebec and Nova Scotia ? — a division, too, which it was the particular object of that Commission to define.

But let us return to the great discoveries of the Report. It appears from the statement of the Commissioners that,

"*If it had been known* that a range of Highlands, corresponding with the terms of the Treaty, existed in a part of the territory which neither of the parties had examined, namely, south of the St. John, and lying in that oblique direction between the sources of the Chaudière and the Bay of Chaleurs, in which ran the line of demarcation of the ancient provincial boundary, the Americans would never have made their assertion" [that is, of the identity of the Treaty line and that ancient boundary].

And further in conclusion they say ;

"We report that *we have found* a Line of Highlands, agreeing with the language of the 2nd article of the Treaty of 1783, extending from the northwesternmost head of the Connecticut river to the sources of the Chaudière, and passing from thence in a northeasterly direction, south of the Roostuc to the Bay of Chaleurs."

Now from this it would appear, as if here was a pure discovery of the Commissioners made for the first time after a survey of the ground. Yet if we turn back to the instructions furnished by Lord Palmerston for the gentlemen to examine "the line from the sources of the Chaudière to the point at which a line drawn from that source to the western extremity of the Bay of Chaleurs intercepts the due north line," we shall perceive something more than an accidental coincidence between the directions and the line actually found. Unquestionably, if there has been any discovery, it was one which Lord Palmerston had already made when he sent out his Commissioners ; and these have done

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nothing more than to build up an argument in support of a new position, the geographical facts for which they had been sent out to establish. They have measured mountains almost exactly where Her Majesty's ministry ordered them to be found; and the consequence has been, the production of a map in which the nicely-shaded highlands occupy the precise situation that corresponds to the second branch of their instructions.

We cannot help thinking, moreover, that if the Commissioners of survey have been so lucky as to *find* a line of boundary agreeing with the language of the 2nd article of the Treaty, exactly where the Minister told them to look after it, they have been not less remarkably fortunate in omitting to find what it was not desirable that they should find. And, strange as it may seem, the same convenient vision which looked out upon the natural features of the country through the spectacles of the ministry at home, when it came to the examination of the ancient title, retained its singular faculty of seeing only what it wished to see, and overlooking every thing that was not to the purpose. We know not whether the method of conducting this operation is most remarkable for its ingenuity or its dishonesty. But Mr. Gallatin has furnished us with abundant opportunities of forming a tolerably accurate estimate of each; and, for the sake of enlightening our readers a little on this matter, we will proceed to cite a few of the instances in which they are displayed.

The greatest discovery of the Report is about a comma. It is darkly alluded to in the 14th point of the recapitulation as follows;

XIV. "We have discovered by a critical examination of the Grant of Nova Scotia of 1621 in the original Latin, that the passage which describes the Western boundary of the territory included in that Grant, and which boundary was agreed at the time of the Treaty of 1783, to be the Eastern boundary of Massachusetts, in conformity with the provision contained in the Charter of Massachusetts of 1691, is susceptible of a new interpretation varying in important particulars from the received one; and we show, by a literal translation of the Latin, that the boundary was intended to run from the most western waters of the St. Croix to the sources of the Chaudière; a line, which it has been seen, coincides in a very striking manner with the boundary in the Sieur De Mont's Grant of 1603." —p. 54.

There was once a book published, containing an account

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of great events that had flowed from very trifling causes. Probably, not an example could be found in it more remarkable than this one, if we are to trust Her Majesty's Commissioners. The whole dispute between Great Britain and the United States, which has exercised so many wise heads for so long a time, turns out to have sprung from the misplacing of a comma, or rather from the uncertainty whether, in an old parchment where there are no commas, a certain sentence should be read as if it had a comma before or after it. The printer of the Report has insisted upon putting it in after, notwithstanding that its whole argument was the other way. We ourselves are not disposed to pay much regard to the emendation in any shape, critical or political, and are perfectly willing to set off the accuracy of the proof reader for Parliament, against the scholarship of Mr. Featherstonhaugh; but, as the public may be a little curious to know something more of the matter than we have yet explained, we will extract for their information the observations upon the subject made by Mr. Gallatin.

"In the authentic Latin copy of the grant, communicated by the British Government, there are no commas. The copy [an extract whereof will be given below] is transcribed from the report as published by the order of Parliament; and a comma is there inserted after the words 'versus Septentrionem', where first mentioned; which makes the passage read as it has heretofore always been read. It must have been so placed by the compositor of the Parliamentary Press. The commissioners clearly intended that the comma should be placed before and not after 'versus Septentrionem', and it must be so understood by the reader.

"Whether this emendation, which is the great discovery of the commissioners, be admissible, is left to the decision of critical scholars. My business is with the reasoning of the report; and the reason assigned for the emendation is not sufficient." — p. 140.

We will now stop a moment for the sake of furnishing the important sentence of the grant, about which there is so much question. It runs thus in most classical Latin;

"Omnes et singulas terras Continentis, ac insulas situatas et jacentes in Americâ intra caput seu promontorium communiter Cap de Sable appelat. Jacen. prope latitudinem quadraginta trium graduum *aut eò circà ab equinoctiali lineâ versus Septentri-*

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onem, a quo promontorio versus littus maris tenden. ad occidentem ad stationem, &c."

We now recur to Mr. Gallatin, who goes on to remark ;

"The word *north*, applied to the latitude of any country, known to be situated north of the equator, though superfluous, is perpetually used, and it is thus used several times in the Treaty (to the forty fifth degree of north latitude). Everybody knows that the latitude, whether north or south, is always counted from the equator. The words 'ab equinoctiali lineâ,' in the grant, are equally superfluous, and they correspond with the words in the Treaty, 'in latitude of thirty-one degrees north of the equator.'

"The object of the emendation cannot have been to connect the words 'versus Septentrionem' with the words 'ad occidentem' of the next sentence. For if the union of the two were necessary in order to express the northwest, it would follow, that 'versus Septentrionem' alone was not sufficient for that purpose. But the true object of the emendation was to detach those words from the first sentence, where, being applied to latitude from the Equator, they must necessarily mean due north. And the commissioners call the tracing on maps of a due north line from the source of the St. Croix to the St. Lawrence, an erroneous construction of the expression *towards the north.*

"But those words mean a line which inclines more to the north than to the east, or the west, and they necessarily embrace a due north line. Under the broadest legitimate construction, it cannot vary more than from due northeast to due northwest. The American translation quoted in the preceding passage of the report, is undoubtedly incorrect in substituting the word *north* for *towards the North, &c.*" — p. 141.

Now this American translation, here alluded to, is not the one prepared under the authority of the Government of the United States, and included in one of the statements submitted to the King of Holland, but is one made for and added to a report of a committee of the Legislature of the State of Maine in 1828. Notwithstanding these facts, Her Majesty's Commissioners have seized upon the accidental circumstance of a republication of that report and the accompanying papers, by the order and for the information of the Congress of the United States, as an excuse for calling it an official translation. And this presents an opportunity for an insinuation, which, in view of the fact, that the truly official translation

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must have been lying before them at the time the Commissioners made it, deserves an epithet stronger than we choose to apply. The insinuation is, that the inaccuracies complained of, were committed with the deliberate design to prejudice the British claims.

But what are the errors of this translation that they should deserve to be regarded as wilfully made? There are two; the first, that "versus Septentrionem" is rendered by "to the north" instead of "towards the north." And with all due respect to Mr. Gallatin, we do not consider this any very great mistake, particularly as the same words that appear in the Appendix, "to the north," are translated in the body of the report itself "northward", which we take to be the precise meaning. At any rate, the variation in the two places will exonerate the makers of the Report from any deliberate intention to misrepresent. And so far the suspicions of the Commissioners are groundless. The other error is, that "proximam navium stationem" is called "the first bay" instead of "the nearest road," and we greatly regret to perceive that Mr. Gallatin has at all countenanced this most preposterous objection; particularly as he has noticed Mr. Featherstonhaugh's own translation of the grant a few words above, where it is clear, that the very same term of "statio navium" is applied as in the original to the place "vulgo Sanctmaries *Bay*", and hence that the terms are here used in the grant itself as equivalent. In point of fact, *bay* is, as applied to any part of the River St. Lawrence, a more proper word than *road*, if we take as authority the definition made by Dr. Johnson of the two words, or the illustration which he adduces from Sandys;

> "About the islands are many *roads*, but only one *harbour*."

As to the difference between the words "first" and "nearest," if that is to be the basis for a charge of unfairness in translation, we must leave it to such wonderful critics as Her Majesty's Commissioners, to point it out more clearly hereafter than they have yet done, before we trouble ourselves to make any defence.

And after all, this translation which turns out not to be so bad as is pretended, was not the official translation, and Mr. Featherstonhaugh knew that it was not. Mr. Gallatin, as minister of the United States, had incorporated in his second statement a translation which deserved that title, because it

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made a part of the argument submitted to the King of the Netherlands on behalf of the United States. But unfortunately for the purposes of the gentleman, that translation corresponded too nearly with his own to enable him to make any unworthy use of it, so he went out of his way to find another. He quotes too freely from the pages of that statement to be able to deny that he has read it.

By this time our readers may be apt to inquire, what is the purpose of all this quotation from the old defunct grant to Sir William Alexander. It is nothing more nor less than to justify Mr. Featherstonhaugh in marking out upon his map a line "versus Septentrionem" which goes two degrees of longitude "versus occidentem," whilst it makes less than one degree of latitude "towards the north." This is certainly a very free translation of the term, and comes with a very bad grace from one who ventures to insinuate against the Government of a foreign nation the perpetration of a wilful mistranslation with the design "greatly to prejudice the British claims." If the navigators of Great Britain were to adopt the singular method of understanding the points of the compass thus laid down, we doubt whether their country would be great gainers by their skill.

We utterly deny the right of the Commissioners to put any such forcible construction upon the Latin of this grant, as they have attempted. We deny their right to suggest any line like the one marked upon their map, as coming within the limits even of their own violent construction; and lastly, we deny, that in any possible event, the simple words of the Treaty of 1783 can be made to depend for their meaning upon that grant.

So much for the grand discovery of the Report. Subordinate to that are two or three others, which would be amusing, if they were not connected with a topic of so much importance to the peace of nations. One of them consists in a grave presentation of an old map of New France, or Canada, made by one Coronelli in the year 1689, and of another republished at Paris, by de Lisle, in 1783, from an old plate first published eighty years before, as evidence of the fact, that the same understanding was had of the limits of Nova Scotia, by the French, that is now entertained by Her Majesty's Commissioners. It was, to be sure, a most accurate understanding of the configuration of the country, as any

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person may readily satisfy himself by a glance at the copies which accompany the Report, provided that even these are correctly given. In one of them, Nova Scotia, in the other New Hampshire figures, in the place where Maine is now usually put. And New England is set down as a very small affair, much smaller than New Hampshire in one map, and wholly distinct from it, whilst it is bounded in the other by a river, called the Pentagonet, the old name for the Penobscot, which is put where the Kennebec is ordinarily found, and by Nova Scotia, which runs even west of that river on the north. Such are the marvellous discoveries of the Queen's officers, which are entirely to overturn the American position. Such is the singular evidence of acquaintance with the boundaries of the United States, which is to overrule the authority of the negotiators of the Treaty of 1783. We can assure the gentlemen, that these negotiators did not prove themselves so very unskilful and ignorant in that business as to justify the supposition, that they would not have laughed to scorn the very idea of such guides as these in the description of their national boundaries.

But there is another little discovery made by the Commissioner in this department of maps, which makes too good a story to be lost. We will give Mr. Gallatin's account of it, as follows ;

"It had heretofore been contended, on the part of Great Britain, that the boundary described in the treaty of 1783, was identic with, and suggested by the height of land mentioned by Pownall, as that in which the Kennebec, the Penobscot, and the St. Croix had their sources. The same assertion is repeated in the Report, and the same reasons assigned for it. But the former agents of the British Government had denied the identity of the treaty boundary with that designated by the Proclamation of 1763. That identity is now admitted in the report ; and a curious and novel inference is drawn, viz. that the description of the southern boundary of the Province of Quebec, in the Royal Proclamation of 1763, was derived from the information in the map published by Evans, in 1755, although the eastern portion of that map, as republished by Pownall in 1776, belongs to him, and not to Evans ; and that the descriptions contained in the Proclamation of 1763 are a mere *echo* of the information produced by the explorations of Governor Pownall ; which information was for the first time published, together with his map, in the year 1776, by Governor Pow-

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nall. This anticipating echo is all that belongs exclusively to the report." — p. 146.

But, fearing lest this might not be intelligible enough, Mr. Gallatin returns to the subject in another place.

"The British Commissioners affirm 'that the height of land described by Evans and Pownall in 1755, extended to the eastern branches of the Penobscot,' and 'that the description of the southern boundary of the Province of Quebec, in the Royal Proclamation of 1763, was derived from the information published by Evans, the highlands there spoken of being identical with the *height of land* laid down in Evans's map.

"They clearly quote Evans's map of 1755, without having seen it; though they might have found a reprint of it in Jeffery's Atlas, No. 18. It is entitled 'A map of the Middle British Colonies in America, viz., Virginia, Maryland, Delaware, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, Connecticut, and Rhode Island.' It does not embrace a single foot of the height of land in question, and does not approach it. The Connecticut *river is not delineated on it further north than a few miles* north of the 43d degree of latitude, or about 140 miles south of the sources of that river. All north of that latitude, (43° 10′,) and east of the Hudson and of Lake Champlain, is a blank on that map; and the name 'height of land' is nowhere used in it." — p. 162.

Her Majesty's Commissioners have overlooked the fact, that Pownall's eastern portion, which they refer to, was added to the map of Evans twenty years after the publication of the latter. Unluckily for them, it sweeps away their position entirely, and not without betraying the general character of all their argument. The web is made of the same woof throughout, although it may be that only here and there a great and undeniable rent will show its texture.

But what shall we say to the partial suppressions in some of the extracts quoted, and to the perverted arrangement of others, so as to deduce a meaning which they would not naturally bear? What, to the quotation of an argument from the American statement of their claims as an admission against themselves, with recourse to the singular expedient of omitting the last sentence of it, which completely rebuts the point of the objection? This is much the same thing with quoting from a book the statement of an antagonist position, and neglecting to take the least notice of the subsequent paragraph, which

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overthrows it. Is this the manner, we would ask, in which nations, strong in the confidence of justice in their cause, naturally proceed? Is it like the far-famed and much boasted honor of Great Britain, to sanction a resort to such miserable petty shifts and evasions? We think not. We trust, that they have not yet become so fixed in their determination to gain a communication between their provinces, as to resolve upon acquiring it by such dishonest pretences. But if they have, if the moral principles of Her Majesty's ministers are not fixed enough to resist the temptation held out, we trust that the details of the negotiation hereafter to be carried on will establish in the clearest light, upon our side, the true nature of the position which they are driven to occupy in order to sustain it.

We regret that our limits will not admit, at this time, of our going very fully into the evidence of the misrepresentations alluded to, consistently with some degree of attention to other very interesting branches of the subject. They are distinctly set forth by Mr. Gallatin, to whose book we must refer our readers for further information, if they desire it. Our present purpose is to consider how far the arguments of Her Majesty's Commissioners, drawn from supposed admissions against our claims made by American agents during the controversy, are entitled to any weight.

One very strong objection to the whole British position, appears to us to be, the tendency constantly manifested by its supporters to go into matters which have only a secondary connexion with the real question at issue. Here is a plain provision of a treaty. There cannot be a doubt about its real meaning. The British say it cannot be executed according to that meaning. Very well. That is a point to be established by reference to facts in geography, susceptible of no misapprehension. It cannot be established by the chance admission of this or that American, who had no more materials upon which to form an opinion than the British themselves. Let us now take an example of the nature of this sort of authority, and judge from it what is its substantial value in argument. The object of Her Majesty's Commissioners was to prove, that the State of Massachusetts had, in the year 1792, so understood the terms of the treaty, as, in a grant made by her in that year, expressly to limit the extent of her territory within the country watered by the branches of the

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Penobscot. Hence they pretend, that the State then admitted the highlands of the treaty to be very far south of the position, which is now assumed by the United States as the true one. But let us quote from the Report itself.

"That this was admitted by the Government of the State of Massachusetts in 1792, before the separation of Maine from that State, is proved by a contract entered into by that State, with Jackson and Flint, for the sale of a tract of land bounded to the east, by the St. Croix River, the tract being thus described;

"'Westerly, by a line on the east side of the great eastern branch of Penobscot River, at the distance of six miles therefrom;

"'Easterly, by the River Scoodiac, (the St. Croix,) and a line extending northerly from the source thereof to the highlands; and

"'Northerly, by the highlands, or by the line described, in the Treaty of Peace between the United States and His Britannic Majesty.'

"The western bounds of this grant are here covenanted to be formed by a line six miles distant from the eastern branch of Penobscot River, which line would run, by a just construction of the contract, to the source of that eastern branch, and no further. The northern limits were to be formed by the highlands of the Treaty of 1783, and the eastern bounds by the River St. Croix, and a north line running to the highlands. This method of description is a mere paraphrase of the boundary description of the treaty; and the inference is clear, that the parties conceived the eastern branch of the Penobscot to take its rise in those highlands. This is further proved in Greenleaf's Map of Maine in 1815, which was considered authority at that time, and the improved editions of which are the best authority in the United States up to the present day. On that map the boundary line itself of the grant to Jackson and Flint is laid down six miles from the eastern branch of the Penobscot, and the point of departure of that line is taken from that part of the eastern branch, which is opposite to the most western waters of the St. Croix. The line then continues to the source of the said eastern branch, where it stops, and where, unquestionably, the parties at that time conceived the highlands to be. Mr. Greenleaf, in his 'Statistical View of the District of Maine,' published in 1816, further confirms this to have been the general understanding at that day, by describing *the highest points of land between the Atlantic and the St. Lawrence*, as contained in a tract of country running northeast-

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erly between the sources of the Du Loup, a branch of the Chaudière, and the east branch of the Penobscot." — p. 24.

It happened that Mr. Greenleaf made a mistake in his map. That is all the basis there is to the argument. Mr. Gallatin tells the rest of the story.

"The plan of the survey may at any time hereafter be produced by the United States. It was executed in the years 1793 and 1794, and contains 2,943,133 acres. Its eastern boundary extends from the Scoodiac Lakes, one hundred and fifty-two miles magnetic north, *crossing the St. John* above its junction with the Madawaska, and extending about fifteen miles beyond it. There the surveyors, *having mistaken tributary streams of the Madawaska for rivers emptying into the St. Lawrence,* turned to the west along highlands which, owing to that mistake, they supposed to be the highlands of the treaty. The western boundary of the tract is, from its northern extremity to the sources of the Penobscot, for 33 miles parallel to the eastern boundary, *crossing the St. John, the Aliguash, and the Restook, near its source.* Further south that western boundary is parallel to the eastern branch of the Penobscot, and terminates at the Passadumkeag." — p. 147.

Now we happen, within a few weeks, to have seen the survey of this grant, which is upon record in the office of the land agent of Massachusetts. Upon that survey the north line runs along within twenty-five miles of the St. Lawrence. So that if those purchasers, Messrs. Jackson and Flint, had been able to fulfil their engagements to the State under their contract, Massachusetts would have been called in before this time as warrantor, to make good the title to a large portion of the territory, which the British now dispute. If, therefore, this is any authority at all as to the construction put in 1792 by the State of Massachusetts upon the words of the treaty, it goes directly against the position taken by the Commissioners. But we are not, on our part, disposed to rely upon this species of testimony. The treaty is as open to us as it ever has been to those who have preceded us. Its provisions are not difficult to understand or to apply. Let the two countries proceed in the only way that they can, in order to acquire the necessary information. Let them trace the sources of all the streams that flow into the St. Lawrence, and from thence proceed to find the upper sources of the Atlantic rivers. Upon that intermediate space described between

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these limits is the boundary of the Treaty of 1783, be it high or low. If it has not yet been found, it is only because it has not been sought for with the perseverance necessary to explore so wild a country, and not at all because it is not there.

But the Commissioners, not satisfied with their fruitless attempt to involve the State of Massachusetts in an inconsistency, have undertaken to direct an *argumentum ad hominem* against Mr. Gallatin himself. It appears that that gentleman, very incautiously, as we think, in a confidential letter written while he was acting as one of the Ministers Plenipotentiary to negotiate the Treaty of Ghent, to the Secretary of State, did express an opinion that Massachusetts had no claim to land north of 45° to the eastward of the Penobscot. This was an opinion casually thrown out in a letter not intended for publication, and based upon information now admitted by the author himself to have been insufficient and erroneous. The practice, peculiar to the United States, of making public all the papers connected with a negotiation, not long after it is over, is one calculated very much to embarrass those who act under instructions from the Government, as well as that Government itself. It furnishes foreign nations with opportunities to adapt their tone to the doctrines which they find laid down in these private papers, and thus to endeavour to bring on a contradiction, and, through that, a charge of inconsistency. It is like playing at cards with the opportunity of seeing the hand of an opponent, without disclosing your own. We know not that any remedy can be provided for the inconvenience. The only useful result will be, to inspire all Government officers with a proper degree of caution not to hazard opinions without full examination of the grounds upon which they are made up, and also to apprize them, that the word "confidential" at the head of a paper can only signify, in a few years, what may be read by all the world. For the rest, we do not perceive that this opinion of Mr. Gallatin's is entitled to any weight in a discussion like this. He has nobly redeemed it since, by presenting not an opinion, but an argument, based upon a full and complete examination of the evidence, the soundness of which, in our firm belief, it is not possible for human ingenuity to disturb. The British may make the most they can of the one, if they will only give America the full benefit of the other.

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On the whole, when we consider the sort of education our public men have had to prepare them for the management of great controversies, it is wonderful that the negotiations which have been carried on with foreign nations, should have been so generally successful as they have been. In the United States, the very idea of fitting one's self to become a statesman is absurd, because such is the precarious nature of popular favor, no man can beforehand entertain any reasonable certainty, that after he has prepared himself he will be supported by it. The independence of all necessity to earn a livelihood, without which such fitting cannot be carried far, constitutes a serious drawback upon success, inasmuch as it dissolves the strongest bond by which the members of the community are held in sympathy. The self-made men, that is, individuals who have by their own meritorious exertions raised themselves from a condition of poverty and destitution to great consideration among their fellows, will always be the most likely persons to enjoy the honors which the country has to give. Yet, by the necessity of wasting their early years in the struggle for mere subsistence, they are all their lives exposed to feel the deficiency of cultivation, which those years well spent only can supply. It is therefore not at all surprising, that errors should sometimes be committed, or rather it is surprising that no more should have been committed, in the direction of our foreign policy, than have been thus far. Almost all those of which we have any knowledge, have been caused by insufficient information, and perhaps an unwillingness to assume the labor of investigation. If we were not afraid of subjecting ourselves to a charge of partisanship, we might adduce abundant evidence of the injurious effects of these errors during the first half of the administration of President Jackson. The time has not yet arrived to show all of them to the country in their naked simplicity. But one of them which was committed by a gentleman of distinguished character, the late Mr. Edward Livingston, has had too serious a connexion with the subject in hand to permit our passing that over in the same silence that will cover the rest. Mr. Gallatin alludes to it in this manner.

"The fact, that the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs did lay before the Parliament of Great Britain the report of the late Commissioners, affords strong evidence, that that dis-

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tinguished statesman, amidst his more important and overwhelming avocations, had not found time thoroughly to investigate the merits of the case, and to judge for himself. This is not at all surprising. I could quote the instance of an intelligent and enlightened Secretary of State of the United States, much less burdened with official duties than a British Minister, who, on this very question, did, subsequent to the award, propose to substitute for the due north line, another, which would have given to Great Britain the greater part, if not the whole of the disputed territory. Why the proposal was made, and why it was not at once accepted, cannot be otherwise accounted for, so far at least as regards the offer, than by a complete ignorance of the whole subject."—*Preface*, p. 9.

We are afraid that this cause is but too truly assigned for much of the erroneous management, which it has been the lot of the interests of Maine to endure, for some years past, at the hands of the General Government. It is, however, but due to the memory of Mr. Livingston to add, that he was not the originator of the proposition of a northwest line, which would have exactly fallen in with the argument of Mr. Featherstonhaugh, in the Report now under consideration. The suggestion was President Jackson's, and was declared to be based upon a local habit of surveying in the western country, which was not quite so safe a guide in the management of national questions, as a profound knowledge of the history of the countries connected with the dispute, and an investigation into the documentary evidence of title, might have been. We are not, however, aware of the existence of a single letter by Mr. Livingston, in the course of his correspondence with the British Minister upon this subject, which will do him credit with posterity, and which has not weakened the position of the United States in the negotiation. We have already in a former article* explained the character of his proceedings so fully, that they need not be further dwelt upon at this time. The letters of Mr. Forsyth, whilst Secretary of State, are not open to the same kind of objection. If there has been no progress made by him to a settlement of the difficulty, at least there has been no appearance of surrender on our side, of the points in dispute. The issue, which bid fair at one moment to be entirely overlooked, has been again established

* *North American Review*, Vol. XLIII. pp. 413 *et seq.*

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by him upon its ancient footing, from which it is now to be hoped that the government will never again recede, unless with the full concurrence of the State of Maine, and of the Union.

It is perfectly well known to our readers that the survey made by order of Her Majesty's ministry, which has been the means of ushering to the world the report of Mr. Featherstonhaugh, incited the Government of the United States to organize a commission of survey on our part. Circumstances not yet entirely explained, caused so great a delay in proceeding upon it last season, that little or no satisfactory information has thus far been gained. The Commissioner charged with the duty of tracing the due north line from the monument at the source of the St. Croix, was unable to reach the ground until the middle of September, and he was early prevented from a prosecution of the work by the setting in of winter. Nor were the other two gentlemen who started earlier upon their portion of the duty, which was to trace the dividing highlands, much more successful in accomplishing it than Major Grahame. The partial report which has been submitted by them and furnished to both Houses of Congress, contains little more than an account of the privations they underwent. There is enough, however, to prove the difficulty of access to the region in dispute, by reason of its wild condition, and indirectly somewhat to shake the credit to be placed in the maps and statements of their immediate predecessors. We earnestly hope that the survey will be persevered in, until the doubt, that now hangs over the character of this territory, shall be entirely dispelled, and the United States enabled to specify with perfect geographical distinctness that boundary which divides from each other the rivers referred to in the Treaty ; — a boundary which does not the less exist, because it has thus far remained buried in the wilderness.

It is idle to pretend, that the line found by Mr. Featherstonhaugh is that boundary. It is nothing but a range of highlands or mountains which runs through the territory in dispute. It divides the tributaries of one river (the Penobscot) that flows into the Atlantic, from those of another river (the St. John), that flows into the same through the Bay of Fundy, neither of which rivers has the remotest connexion with the rivers that fall into the St. Lawrence ; and all of which, it is manifest by a single glance at any map, are restrained by a

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barrier impassable to them from ever mingling their waters with those of that stream. How, under these circumstances, the commissioners can affirm, as they do at the close of their Report, that they "have found a Line of Highlands, *agreeing with the language of the 2nd article of the Treaty of* 1783, extending from the northwesternmost head of the Connecticut River to the sources of the Chaudière, and passing from thence, in a northeasterly direction, South of the Roostuc, to the Bay of Chaleurs," must be matter of profound astonishment to every person who takes the trouble to compare them. Whatever may be the opinion entertained in England, of one thing we are sure, that no American ever should, nor do we believe one ever will concede, that the statement is true. It is to be hoped, that Her Majesty's ministers will not seek to rest their position upon any portion of this Report; but if they should, we trust that our Government will have spirit enough peremptorily to refuse to proceed upon any such basis.

It is generally understood, that little or no progress has been made in the negotiation for several years past. The late President declined to avail himself of the opportunity presented by the action of Congress authorizing him to send a special minister with extraordinary powers, and persisted in conducting the affair in the ordinary channels. Of the reasons which prevailed with him to take this course, we are uninformed. We are nevertheless bound to believe that he had strong ones. But the effect was unfavorable, in so far as it gave an impression abroad, that the Government and people of the United States were not sensible of inconvenience from delay. There was no such insensibility at that time, either in Maine or in Massachusetts; and there is none such now. The feeling of insecurity in regard to our peaceful relations with Great Britain, is more widely entertained in those States than people are generally aware of. It will continue to prevail as long as this question remains open. It has some effect upon almost all the transactions in our eastern commercial cities. This is made strikingly perceptible, whenever intelligence of any movement within the limits of the disputed territory is received. We earnestly hope that a stop will soon be put to it; and we trust that the coming in of a new administration of the General Government will be the signal for a strong and final effort to set the question at rest for ever.

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It is also understood that the tenacity, with which the British Government clings to the right of possessing this tract of land, is mainly owing to the fact, that a road to connect the British provinces of New Brunswick and Canada must run through it, and that, in a military point of view, such a communication is indispensable to the protection of them both. We shall not now inquire how far it is to be supposed we ought to go in conceding what, after all, is sought by the British as a security against ourselves; nor yet, whether the mode in which the claim has been presented to our consideration has always been consistent or courteous. In the latter particular there have been faults on both sides. Nothing can well be in worse taste, and more really disadvantageous to our cause, than the vaporing declamation and bombastic braggadocio which has sometimes issued from our public men, when treating the subject. The government of Great Britain rests too strongly in the consciousness of its power, to be much disturbed by big words. Nothing avails with it so much as a determination, resolutely, decidedly, but moderately expressed; — a determination which, as it seeks not to intimidate, will also never be relaxed by intimidation. This will furnish a better reliance, than all the small artillery which Governors' messages, Legislative resolutions, and Congressional speeches can supply. The main use of these is to give indications of the unanimity of popular sentiment throughout the Union; and even here their effect will be somewhat in the ratio of their abstinence from all unsuitable violence.

The idea has been suggested of the possibility of settling this long standing difficulty by reference to a new arbitration. The great obstacle to it is to be found in the selection of a suitable arbiter. The influence of Great Britain in Europe is so great, that scarcely any sovereign can be said to be perfectly independent of it. Some might not incline to assume an umpirage; others would be found scarcely acceptable to us. The state of Europe is such, that very few Governments are likely to desire any addition to the causes for mutual jealousy and distrust which already prevail among them. Yet, notwithstanding all these difficulties, if a suitable arbiter can be found, who is willing to assume the labor of investigating the question, and the two governments, of Great Britain and of the United States, persist in their decision not to

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move an inch forward to a compromise, we know of no peaceful alternative, other than to submit the question a second time. Should such a result take place, we beg leave to suggest the expediency of previously agreeing upon two points; the first, that the arbiter be properly apprized beforehand, how far his decision may go, and yet continue binding upon the parties; the second, that neither party shall have any excuse whatever for a refusal to enforce the decree. We think the failure of a second umpirage after the manner of the first, can be attended with nothing short of a state of hostility between the two countries; and however strongly we may feel in regard to the right of this controversy, we are not yet prepared to say that it is in itself a justification for war. Nothing but the conviction, that Great Britain is wholly and utterly uncompromising, would bring us to that point. We do not yet entertain such a conviction. We hope better things, — we believe in better things; and we trust that a revival of the negotiation at this moment of repose from our usual domestic strife, under new auspices, and with extraordinary energy, will have the effect of awakening Her Majesty's ministers more thoroughly than they have ever yet been awakened, to the expediency of mastering the details of the question, and then coming to terms. Thus would be removed a fruitful source of bitterness, and a great step would be made towards the establishment of a better understanding upon other subjects, which now threaten to disturb the harmony that ought to prevail between the kindred nations.

ART. VIII. — *A Year's Life*. By JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL. Boston: C. C. Little and J. Brown. 1841. 16mo. pp. viii, 182.

THIS little volume abounds with proofs of unquestionable poetical talent, sufficiently so to make us hope well of the author's literary progress, in spite of the defects with which nearly every page is more or less alloyed.

Mr. Lowell, poetically speaking, is the child of his age, belonging to that class of poets in whom the imaginative and

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reflective element predominates over the passionate, and who are now occupying the highest place in the general favor. While Byron lived, his influence was so powerful over the public mind, that even his feeblest imitator was sure of a hearing; but when that blazing star fell from the poetical heavens, a third part of its glittering host fell with him. When the great magician was gone, men would no longer tolerate the puny efforts of his scholars, who, though they rivalled their master in grimace and convulsion, could not, like him, call spirits from the vasty deep. However one might lament the use which that unhappy man made of his splendid powers, there was a mournful music in his song, a passionate depth and earnestness in his wail of sorrow, which commanded attention and awakened sympathy, so that the sternest judge pitied while he condemned. It was because his poetry did express the actual state of his mind, and flowed hot from his volcanic breast, that it had so great a popularity, for there is no vitality without truth; and even they who affected the sneer and scowl, which were natural to him, were received with some favor, because they adapted themselves to that mood to which the common mind had been subdued. But when the spell was once broken, men recovered the power of discerning the true from the false, and soon became tired of the "contortion without the inspiration." They could no longer listen with any patience to the prolonged whine of the dyspeptic scholar, who imagined that his heart was broken when he was merely suffering for want of fresh air and exercise. A natural reaction took place. The eyes of men turned to the milder and purer light of Wordsworth and his followers, with that sense of refreshment, with which they repose upon the tranquil stars after being wearied and dazzled with watching the vivid play and rainbow hues of artificial fire-works. This latter class of poets has been obviously growing in general esteem during the last ten or fifteen years; and among them Mr. Lowell is to be ranked, though he is by no means a servile imitator, and has a spontaneous and native vein of poetry.

It is unfortunate for the success of his book, that its most substantial and prominent fault is of that kind which will prejudice most readers against it, even more than it deserves. We allude to its very strong infusion of personality. A con-

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siderable portion of its contents is occupied by versified confessions. Upon the subject of that passion which has ever twined its myrtles with the poet's laurels, his disclosures are more ample and confidential than good taste warrants. Love-letters have little attraction, except to the eye of the person to whom they are addressed, nor is the matter much mended by throwing them into a poetical garb. We are willing to give a large latitude to that egotism which is almost inseparable from genius, and a reasonable share of which is rather an agreeable element in poetry; and though no longer young, our pulses are not dead to the touch of that passion which emparadises earth, and we can read with pleasure the song that breathes a lover's hopes or fears. But even poets must not abuse their privileges. There is a limit which correct taste forbids them to overstep. Few can hope to say any thing new upon a passion, which nearly everybody has felt since the hour when it first shot into the heart of Adam from the eyes of Eve. The lover's lute is an instrument of moderate compass, and even the exquisite language of Petrarch can hardly prevent his unbroken strain of plaintive love-melancholy from palling upon the ear. We are aware that young men of poetical temperament are likely to have a large experience in these matters between fifteen and twenty-five, and we doubt not that Mr. Lowell writes with sincerity and genuine feeling, and to woo in verse is a graceful and effective way of approaching the heart of woman, who is ever an idolater of genius; but we regret that he should have printed so many of these poems. The nature of the subject exacts from love-poems a higher degree of literary merit than from any others, and one which our young friend is seldom successful in attaining. Had he taken counsel of a judicious adviser, we think he would have excluded from his volume much which adds nothing to its merit, and which provokes the sneer of the cynic and the harsh judgment of the intolerant.

Mr. Lowell has more of the "vision" than the "faculty divine." He has the eye and mind of a poet, but wants the plastic touch, which "turns to shape the forms of things unknown." His conceptions are superior to his power of execution. We are reminded, in reading his poetry, of the observation of a judicious critic in a sister art, that the picture would have been better painted if the painter had taken more pains. In this volume there is much of the ore of poetry,

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but little of it in its purified and polished state. We have found in it much, certainly, that is striking and beautiful. The author has seen things for himself, and not transcribed the impressions made on other minds. His love of nature is genuine, and the beauty of her majestic countenance has evidently sunk deep into his soul with refreshing and elevating influences. His imagination is vivid, and his fancy fruitful in fine images. We are frequently struck with a nice and delicate power of observation, and sometimes detect a searching glance, which shows the power of looking deeper into man's nature than he has usually done. We are pleased, too, with his purity and elevation of feeling. Morally speaking, there is not a line which, dying, he could wish to blot. Especially do we like the reverence which he shows for woman, and that love of ideal beauty which takes from the passion and adds to the sentiment of love. Let him cling to this, as the precious jewel of his soul, and his best talisman against the temptations which may assail him in the slippery paths of youth and early manhood. When the youthful poet has once lost his pure morning feeling upon this subject, the most musical string in his lyre is already broken.

A few extracts will enable us to speak more distinctly and understandingly of Mr. Lowell's merits and defects. Our first one shall be from that class of poems which, as we have before said, occupies more of the volume than we could wish, though we should not have said so, had they all been as good as this.

IRENÉ.

"Her's is a spirit deep and crystal-clear ;
Calmly beneath her earnest face it lies,
Free without boldness, meek without a fear,
Quicker to look than speak its sympathies ;
Far down into her large and patient eyes
I gaze, deep-drinking of the infinite,
As, in the mid-watch of a clear, still night,
I look into the fathomless blue skies.

" So circled lives she with Love's holy light,
That from the shade of self she walketh free ;
The garden of her soul still keepeth she
An Eden where the snake did never enter ;
She hath a natural, wise sincerity,
A simple truthfulness, and these have lent her
A dignity as moveless as the centre ;

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So that no influence of earth can stir
Her steadfast courage, or can take away
The holy peacefulness, which, night and day,
Unto her queenly soul doth minister.

" Most gentle is she; her large charity
(An all unwitting, childlike gift in her)
Not freer is to give than meek to bear;
And, though herself not unacquaint with care,
Hath in her heart wide room for all that be, —
Her heart that hath no secrets of its own,
But open is as eglantine full-blown.
Cloudless for ever is her brow serene,
Speaking calm hope and trust within her, whence
Welleth a noiseless spring of patience
That keepeth all her life so fresh, so green
And full of holiness, that every look,
The greatness of her woman's soul revealing,
Unto me bringeth blessing, and a feeling
As when I read in God's own holy book.

" A graciousness in giving that doth make
The small'st gift greatest, and a sense most meek
Of worthiness, that doth not fear to take
From others, but which always fears to speak
Its thanks in utterance, for the giver's sake; —
The deep religion of a thankful heart,
Which rests instinctively in Heaven's law
With a full peace, that never can depart
From its own steadfastness; — a holy awe
For holy things, not those which men call holy,
But such as are revealèd to the eyes
Of a true woman's soul bent down and lowly
Before the face of daily mysteries; —
A love that blossoms soon, but ripens slowly
To the full goldenness of fruitful prime,
Enduring with a firmness that defies
All shallow tricks of circumstance and time,
By a sure insight knowing where to cling,
And where it clingeth never withering, —
These are Irenè's dowry, — which no fate
Can shake from their serene, deep-builded state.

" In-seeing sympathy is hers, which chasteneth
No less than loveth, scorning to be bound
With fear of blame, and yet which ever hasteneth

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To pour the balm of kind looks on the wound,
If they be wounds which such sweet teaching makes,
Giving itself a pang for others' sakes;
No want of faith, that chills with side-long eye,
Hath she; no jealousy, no Levite pride
That passeth by upon the other side;
For in her soul there never dwelt a lie.
Right from the hand of God her spirit came
Unstained, and she hath ne'er forgotten whence
It came, nor wandered far from thence,
But laboreth to keep her still the same,
Near to her place of birth, that she may not
Soil her white raiment with an earthly spot.

"Yet sets she not her soul so steadily
Above, that she forgets her ties to earth,
But her whole thought would almost seem to be
How to make glad one lowly human hearth;
For with a gentle courage she doth strive
In thought and word and feeling so to live
As to make earth next Heaven; and her heart
Herein doth show its most exceeding worth,
That, bearing in our frailty her just part,
She hath not shrunk from evils of this life,
But hath gone calmly forth into the strife,
And all its sins and sorrows hath withstood
With lofty strength of patient womanhood:
For this I love her great soul more than all,
That, being bound, like us, with earthly thrall,
She walks so bright and Heaven-wise therein, —
Too wise, too meek, too womanly to sin.

"Exceeding pleasant to mine eyes is she:
Like a lone star through riven storm-clouds seen
By sailors, tempest-tost upon the sea,
Telling of rest and peaceful heavens nigh,
Unto my soul her star-like soul hath been,
Her sight as full of hope and calm to me; —
For she unto herself hath builded high
A home serene, wherein to lay her head,
Earth's noblest thing, — a Woman perfected."

We are willing to stake our reputation for critical sagacity on the assertion, that none but a true poet could have written the above. It is certainly entitled to high praise as an ideal

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portrait. No common hand drew those gentle lineaments, and laid on those softly tinted colors. It shows a power of discerning and describing the retiring graces and reserved charms of womanhood, not often found in a masculine intellect, and an appreciation of, and reverence for, the higher excellencies of the female character, which does honor to his moral sense and purity of taste. Our fair young friends may take our word for it, that they may trust their happiness more confidently into the keeping of a young poet who writes such poetry as this, than of one who addresses them in those glowing and impassioned strains, whose fire has been kindled at the torch rather of Anteros than of Eros, the terrestrial rather than the celestial divinity. With many of Mr. Lowell's characteristic excellences, the above poem also is by no means free from his characteristic defects, — his neglect of the laws of rhythm, his want of precision, and his love of superfine phraseology.

Our next extract shall be from a poem of a different kind, which he calls "Threnodia," written upon the death of a young child.

"How peacefully they rest,
Crossfolded there
Upon his little breast,
Those small, white hands, that ne'er were still before,
But ever sported with his mother's hair,
Or the plain cross that on her breast she wore!
Her heart no more will beat
To feel the touch of that soft palm,
That ever seemed a new surprise
Sending glad thoughts up to her eyes
To bless him with their holy calm, —
Sweet thoughts! they made her eyes as sweet.
How quiet are the hands
That wove those pleasant bands!
But that they do not rise and sink
With his calm breathing, I should think
That he were dropped asleep;
Alas! too deep, too deep
Is this his slumber!
Time scarce can number
The years ere he will wake agen, —
O! may we see his eyelids open then!
O stern word — Nevermore!

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" As the airy gossamere,
Floating in the sunlight clear,
Where'er it toucheth, clinging tightly,
Round glossy leaf or stump unsightly,
So from his spirit wandered out
Tendrils spreading all about,
Knitting all things to its thrall
With a perfect love of all :
O stern word — Nevermore !

" He did but float a little way
Adown the stream of time,
With dreamy eyes watching the ripples play,
Or listening their fairy chime ;
His slender sail
Ne'er felt the gale ;
He did but float a little way,
And, putting to the shore
While yet 't was early day,
Went calmly on his way,
To dwell with us no more !
No jarring did he feel,
No grating on his vessel's keel ;
A strip of silver sand
Mingled the waters with the land
Where he was seen no more :
O stern word — Nevermore !

" Full short his journey was ; no dust
Of earth unto his sandals clave ;
The weary weight that old men must,
He bore not to the grave.
He seemed a cherub who had lost his way
And wandered hither, so his stay
With us was short, and 't was most meet
That he should be no delver in earth's clod,
Nor need to pause and cleanse his feet
To stand before his God :
O blest word — Evermore." — pp. 6 – 9.

The nine lines in the above extract, beginning with " As the airy gossamere," might well have been spared, for as an illustration, the image will not bear dissection, and the language is not felicitous. " Gossamer " is turned into " gossamere," for the rhyme's sake, and " knitting all things to its thrall " is a vile phrase. But with this exception, the lines

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are of great beauty, as is indeed the whole piece, of which they form a part. They present a lovely picture of childhood arrested in its expanding bloom by the hand of death, and cannot but find a response in every heart that has been lacerated by the tearing away of a beloved child. And as the production of a very young man, as yet a stranger to the joys or sorrows of a parent, they reveal a depth and tenderness of feeling, and a power of imagination, which are no small ingredients in the poetical character.

We next present our readers with an entire poem, entitled "The Syrens."

"The sea is lonely, the sea is dreary,
The sea is restless and uneasy;
Thou seekest quiet, thou art weary,
Wandering thou knowest not whither; —
Our little isle is green and breezy,
Come and rest thee! O come hither!
Come to this peaceful home of ours,
Where evermore
The low west-wind creeps panting up the shore
To be at rest among the flowers;
Full of rest, the green moss lifts,
As the dark waves of the sea
Draw in and out of rocky rifts,
Calling solemnly to thee
With voices deep and hollow, —
'To the shore
Follow! O follow!
To be at rest for evermore!
For evermore!'

"Look how the gray, old Ocean
From the depth of his heart rejoices,
Heaving with a gentle motion,
When he hears our restful voices;
List how he sings in an undertone,
Chiming with our melody;
And all sweet sounds of earth and air
Melt into one low voice alone,
That murmurs over the weary sea, —
And seems to sing from everywhere, —
'Here mayest thou harbour peacefully,
Here mayest thou rest from the aching oar;
Turn thy curvèd prow ashore,

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And in our green isle rest for evermore !
For evermore ! '
And Echo half wakes in the wooded hill,
And, to her heart so calm and deep,
Murmurs over in her sleep,
Doubtfully pausing and murmuring still,
' Evermore ! '
Thus, on Life's weary sea,
Heareth the marinere
Voices sweet, from far and near,
Ever singing low and clear,
Ever singing longingly.

" Is it not better here to be,
Than to be toiling late and soon ?
In the dreary night to see
Nothing but the blood-red moon
Go up and down into the sea ;
Or, in the loneliness of day,
To see the still seals only
Solemnly lift their faces gray,
Making it yet more lonely ?
Is it not better, than to hear
Only the sliding of the wave
Beneath the plank, and feel so near
A cold and lonely grave,
A restless grave, where thou shalt lie
Even in death unquietly ?
Look down beneath thy wave-worn bark,
Lean over the side and see
The leaden eye of the side-long shark
Upturnèd patiently,
Ever waiting there for thee :
Look down and see those shapeless forms,
Which ever keep their dreamless sleep
Far down within the gloomy deep,
And only stir themselves in storms,
Rising like islands from beneath,
And snorting through the angry spray,
As the frail vessel perisheth
In the whirls of their unwieldy play ;
Look down ! Look down !
Upon the seaweed, slimy and dark,
That waves its arms so lank and brown,
Beckoning for thee !

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Look down beneath thy wave-worn bark
Into the cold depth of the sea!
Look down! Look down!
Thus, on Life's lonely sea,
Heareth the marinere
Voices sad, from far and near,
Ever singing full of fear,
Ever singing drearfully.

"Here all is pleasant as a dream;
The wind scarce shaketh down the dew,
The green grass floweth like a stream
Into the ocean's blue:
Listen! O listen!
Here is a gush of many streams,
A song of many birds,
And every wish and longing seems
Lulled to a numbered flow of words, —
Listen! O listen!
Here ever hum the golden bees
Underneath full-blossomed trees,
At once with glowing fruit and flowers crowned; —
The sand is so smooth, the yellow sand,
That thy keel will not grate, as it touches the land;
All around, with a slumberous sound,
The singing waves slide up the strand,
And there, where the smooth, wet pebbles be,
The waters gurgle longingly,
As if they fain would seek the shore,
To be at rest from the ceaseless roar,
To be at rest for evermore, —
For evermore.
Thus, on Life's gloomy sea,
Heareth the marinere
Voices sweet, from far and near,
Ever singing in his ear,
'Here is rest and peace for thee!'"
— pp. 99 – 104.

This poem, as a whole, is a fine one, in spite of some characteristic prettinesses, such as "restful voices," "gurgle longingly," &c. The poet has caught the spirit of the sea, and his verse flows like the undulating movement of its waves. He has given true expression to that vague sense of happiness which fills the heart, as we walk upon the beach on

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a day of sunshine and calm, when the charm that broods over the tranquil sea makes us forget the thousands that have been strangled in its angry grasp, and wooes us with a magic power, that a poetical imagination might easily transform into a syren's song. "The leaden eye of the sidelong shark" is a fine line, and shows the eye of a true poet, and the image of the seaweed, waving and beckoning with its lank and brown arms, is vivid and picturesque. "The singing waves *slide* up the strand," is a happy expression, of which the eye and the ear recognise the fidelity. We would, however, enter our respectful protest against the transformation of "mariner" into "marinere." A poet has no right to deal with his words as a sailor with his ropes, splicing them where they are not long enough.

The volume contains other poems, not inferior, perhaps, to those we have quoted, and among them we would mention "The Bobolink," which is natural and pleasing, though unequal; "Bellerophon," fine, though a little cloudy; "The Beggar," which would be one of the very best in the volume, were its execution equal to its conception; "The Unlovely," commendable for its truth of feeling and simplicity of expression; "The Church," and "The Sphynx," both of them poems of a good deal of power, and showing more attention to the mechanical structure of the verse than is usual with our author.

Among the contents of the volume are thirty-five sonnets, many of which are entitled to high praise for their essential excellence, their truth and dignity of sentiment, their purity and elevation of feeling, their love of the true and the beautiful, their hopeful spirit, and the high moral purpose which breathes through them. But there is not one, which has that mechanical finish and faultless execution, which is rigorously exacted from poems of this class. An occasional carelessness of expression, a halting line, an imperfect rhyme, may be tolerated in a longer poem, which is not endurable in a sonnet, just as we pardon a blemish in a statue, which is fatal in a cameo. We extract one of them, which, we think, will confirm both our praise and our criticism.

> "Poet! who sittest in thy pleasant room,
> Warming thy heart with idle thoughts of love,
> And of a holy life that leads above,
> Striving to keep life's spring-flowers still in bloom,
> And lingering to snuff their fresh perfume, —

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O, there were other duties meant for thee,
Than to sit down in peacefulness and Be !
O, there are brother-hearts that dwell in gloom,
Souls loathsome, foul, and black with daily sin,
So crusted o'er with baseness, that no ray
Of Heaven's blessed light may enter in !
Come down, then, to the hot and dusty way,
And lead them back to hope and peace again, —
For, save in Act, thy Love is all in vain."

— p. 164.

We have copied enough of Mr. Lowell's poetry to give our readers a notion of its merits. It will have been seen from these extracts that he has the essential excellence of a poet, that his images have been drawn from the living forms of nature, and that his poems belong to the class of creations and not of manufactures. But he has much to learn as well as to unlearn, before he can take high rank among his tuneful brethren. In all that belongs to the form and garb of verse, there is room for great improvement. In rhyme and the structure of his verse, he is a "chartered libertine." We are constantly meeting with lines, that have too many and too few feet, that want the rhythm and cadence of verse, and have nothing but the capital letter to distinguish them from prose. There is a good deal, too, of that cloudy and misty phraseology, which is so fashionable now in prose and verse, which tantalizes us with glimmerings of meaning, but does not satisfy us with a full revelation of it. A familiar thought gains nothing by ambitious language, as an awkward man is not made graceful by fine clothes. The following lines may be cited as a specimen of the fantastic jargon to which we have recently grown familiar, and which, in attempting to combine poetry and philosophy, succeeds only in producing what is not far removed from old-fashioned nonsense.

"Of Knowledge Love is master-key,
Knowledge of Beauty ; passing dear
Is each to each, and mutually
Each one doth make the other clear ;
Beauty is Love, and what we love
Straightway is beautiful,
So is the circle round and full,
And so dear Love doth live and move
And have his being,

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Finding his proper food,
By sure inseeing,
In all things pure and good,
Which he at will doth cull,
Like a joyous butterfly
Hiving in the sunny bowers
Of the soul's fairest flowers,
Or, between the earth and sky,
Wandering at liberty
For happy, happy hours!"—pp. 93, 94.

Another conspicuous fault of Mr. Lowell's poetry is the perpetual presence of daintinesses and prettinesses of expression. His thoughts are overdressed. He abounds with those affected turns, with which the poetry of Tennyson (which we suspect our friend has studied more than is good for him) is so besprinkled. He is too liberal in the use of the poetical vocabulary. This fault arises from a mistaken impression that poetry is the better, the further it is removed from prose. But good poetry is prose before it is poetry; it is reason, before it is rhyme. Speaking of a lady's hair, he says it is "parted flowingly" and "maidenwise," and in the same poem, we have "rosy white," "red moon-rise," and "far liefer." Why not "far rather"? He does not listen to a bird's song, but he "drinks" its "jargoning." Leaves are "rifted fitfully"; eyes have a "sunset-tinted haziness," and a "mysterious shine"; hair is likened to a "waterfall leaf-tinged with brown, and lit with the sunrise"; the sound of harps is said to be "down-quivering"; thoughts are said to bring on their "silver wings," a "very peaceful ecstasy"; grass is said to be "greening," &c. He uses too liberal a license in compounding words, as "spring-gladsome," vine-bowered," leaf-checkered," rapture-quivered," "organ-shaken," &c. He is also too fond of the solemn termination *eth*, as "dwelleth" for "dwells," which gives an air of stiffness to some of his pieces. To all these and many more which might be cited, we may justly apply Sir Hugh Evans's pithy observation upon Pistol's grandiloquence, "The tevil and his tam! what phrase is this, *He hears with ear?* Why, it is affectations."

We have been led to speak thus plainly of Mr. Lowell's defects, solely on account of the promise which his volume displays. For the slashing style of criticism we have

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no taste ; and the cutting up of an author for the mere pleasure of the exercise, is a task from which we willingly shrink. The rank which he may hereafter occupy, depends a good deal upon himself. He has much to learn and much to do, in order to attain eminence in the most difficult of arts. His mind needs the tonic influences of bark and steel. We should infer that he had been a dreamer rather than a diligent student, and was more familiar with woods and streams than with books and men. He has sought truth, like the contemplative Jaques, "under the shade of melancholy boughs." Communion with actual and stirring life will do him service, and also the vigorous application of his mind to robust exercises. That department of mind which poets have in common with other men, in him needs to be more amply furnished. The poet has not merely to invent, imagine and create, but also to reflect, to discriminate, to judge. Reason, reflection, and common sense must underlie his whole intellectual being. He needs that knowledge which comes from the market-place, no less than that which is found in his library, or that which dwells "under the green-wood tree." Our young friend must ever bear in mind that "accuracy is in every case advantageous to beauty, and just reasoning to delicacy of sentiment." His pictures should have distinctness of outline, as well as grace of form and brilliancy of color. Let him remember that simplicity is the highest excellence of style. Let him accustom himself to the exercise of analyzing and dissecting his own sentences, and spare none which will not bear this rigorous test, and which will not retain a distinct meaning when translated into prose. We commend him to the study of those poets who are at the head of that class to which he himself does not belong, such as Pope, Gray, and Rogers, whose paramount excellence consists in the elaborate finish of their style, and the care with which every line has been wrought and polished into perfection. From them he may learn to correct his own easily-besetting errors in style and language, and to recognise the value of that clear, direct, transparent diction which suits equally well the rapture of the lyric, and the plain teachings of the didactic muse.

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ART. IX. — *Ninth Annual Report of the Trustees of the Perkins Institution and Massachusetts Asylum for the Blind, to the Corporation.* Boston : John H. Eastburn. 8vo. pp. 48.

THIS imperial mind of ours, as it sits enclosed from view, within the folds of its fleshly tabernacle, has, by the grant of benevolent nature, three principal channels of communication with the world outside. Debarred from their use, it is lonely, receiving nothing, bestowing nothing, except so far as benevolent art can provide some substitute. By speech chiefly, it sends out ideas ; by sight and hearing chiefly, it takes them in. Speech, except in the rare case of some organic deformity of its own apparatus, is only wanting when defect in the organ of hearing forbids that imitation of heard sounds, by which speech is learned. The deaf-mute is mute, because, by reason of his deafness, he is unacquainted with the articulations, which, could he hear them, he, like others, would copy and adopt. Art comes to his aid. It cannot give him either use of spoken language, its use in imparting or in receiving thought and sentiment. But it has found out ways to give him the use of written language, which, to a very great extent, may be made a substitute for spoken, besides having its own large department of unspeakable utility, for those by whom the latter is enjoyed. Art does this by laying the task of the closed ear on the ready and obedient eye. Audible language, on either part, being forbidden by the sad conditions of the case, a visible language is taught ; first, an easy, but vague and limited language of visible natural signs ; next, the more copious and exact language of visible arbitrary signs, or letters arranged in words and sentences, and exhibited on a written or printed page, or in postures of the hand. Possessed of the elements of this latter language, the deaf-mute is introduced to the same wide world of knowledge and communication, as other men. He can learn and can teach, can be addressed, and can express. Under the impulse of a gladly awakened curiosity, the burdened sight does cheerfully its double labor. The great chasm thus bridged, the medium of communication thus established, patience and diligence may accomplish the rest. The mind has emerged from its dark chamber, equipped for wide excursions. He,

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on whom Nature seemed to have set a black seal of incapacity and desolation, is an intelligent and happy member of the social state.

Here, in the labors of L'Épée, Sicard, and their excellent followers in this country, was one beautiful triumph of art employed in the service of humanity. A second, like to it, has been not less laudably achieved. For another class, apparently doomed by a hard fate to helplessness and sorrow, wisdom was at the other entrance quite shut out. The condition of the blind, destitute of friendly aid except for mere support and safety, can by no means be maintained to be so pitiable as that of the deaf, obtaining freely, as the former do, in childhood, the use of spoken language; still, to compensate to them as far as possible their grievous loss of the power of looking on the works of God and man, on the face of nature and of their friends, — to give them the resources of exhilarating and profitable amusement and industry, — to enable them to impart and receive pleasure and instruction, by reading and writing what they cannot see, — is a most worthy task for science and philanthropy. In their instruction, the process is the opposite of the last; the hearing, in alliance with the touch, is made to do the work of the unavailing eye.

But what, if sight and hearing both fail? Where may the lever then be placed, which shall move, with the slightest impulse, the waiting world within? There stands a human body, and encased in it, you suppose, are a human mind and heart. But were it in its shroud and coffin, could it be more utterly unapproachable, as to any communication or sympathy? You speak, but the anomalous being before you cannot hear; you listen, but it cannot speak. The broad light rests on the vast revelations around it; but it is encompassed by "ever-during dark." How address it with any sign, any appeal, any inquiry, any consolation? Feed it, and it will swallow. Touch it, and it will know — what? Will it know so much as that it is touched, in any sense in which we, seeing, hearing, thinking men, understand the words? How mysterious, how dread, how *remote* such a presence. What is that awfully independent mind doing in its inaccessible cave? What is more to the purpose, — has art any resources to perforate its prison walls, and mercifully to convey it some tidings of humanity, and some alleviations for the woful dreariness of its solitude?

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The deplorable case of blindness and deafness combined, has in very few instances come under the notice of qualified observers. Only one is known to be on record in England, before that of James Mitchell, described, in 1812, by Dugald Stewart.* Attention has been recently attracted to another, in France; and that of Julia Brace, at the Deaf and Dumb Asylum in Hartford, Connecticut, is known to some of our readers. Dr. Howe, the Superintendent of the Perkins Asylum, is, however, of opinion, that they are much less infrequent than has been supposed; four in New England, besides that at Hartford, having come within his own observation. One of these has been for over three years under his treatment, and his admirably patient and judicious care has been rewarded by results so extraordinary, that, as a mere matter of curiosity, seldom is any thing so attractive offered to the public attention. Apart from its claims on the psychologist, and the practical friend of humanity, the story, as related in the Appendix to the last "Annual Report of the Institution for the Blind," has an interest for the general reader, beyond comparison greater than those famous adventures of Caspar Hauser, which were of late such a blessing to the circulating libraries.

Laura Bridgman, born in Hanover, New Hampshire, in December, 1829, was a pretty and sprightly infant, but of feeble constitution, and subject to severe fits, till she was a year and a half old. For six months from that time, her health materially improved, and in this interval, according to the account now given by her family, her infantile capacities were rapidly developed. At two years of age,

"Suddenly she sickened again; her disease raged with great violence during five weeks, when her eyes and ears were inflamed, suppurated, and their contents were discharged. But though sight and hearing were gone for ever, the poor child's sufferings were not ended; the fever raged during seven weeks; 'for five months she was kept in bed in a darkened room; it was a year before she could walk unsupported, and two years before she could sit up all day.' It was now observ-

* See "*Some Account of a Boy born Blind and Deaf*," &c. in *Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh*, Vol. VII., Part I. Of this case the Edinburgh Reviewers said (Vol. XX. p. 468); "No account of any being, doomed from birth to a privation, so nearly complete, both of sight and hearing, has hitherto been discovered in the records of science."

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ed that her sense of smell was almost entirely destroyed; and consequently, that her taste was much blunted.

"It was not until four years of age, that the poor child's bodily health seemed restored, and she was able to enter upon her apprenticeship of life and the world." — p. 25.

Thus the case was made about as unmanageable as it is possible to conceive. With sight and hearing gone, whatever approach can be made to the disabled mind must be through the avenues of smell, taste, and feeling. But smell, which at best is the medium of a very small number of ideas, was almost lost; and taste, which conveys still fewer, was much impaired. Whatever was to be effected was to be done through the one sense of feeling. By this one slight thread passing to her from the intelligible universe, the unhappy child was to be brought, if at all, to the knowledge of nature, of truth, of duty, of God.

The account of her progress till her eighth year, as being obtained at second hand, is brief and general.

"As soon as she could walk, she began to explore the room, and then the house; she became familiar with the form, density, weight, and heat, of every article she could lay her hands upon. She followed her mother, and felt of her hands and arms, as she was occupied about the house; and her disposition to imitate led her to repeat every thing herself. She even learned to sew a little, and to knit.

"Her affections, too, began to expand, and seemed to be lavished upon the members of her family with peculiar force.

"But the means of communication with her were very limited; she could only be told to go to a place by being pushed; or to come to one by a sign of drawing her. Patting her gently on the head signified approbation; on the back, disapprobation.

"She showed every disposition to learn, and manifestly began to use a natural language of her own; she had a sign to express her idea of each member of the family; as drawing her fingers down each side of her face, to allude to the whiskers of one; twirling her hand around, in imitation of the motion of the spinning wheel, for another; and so on. But although she received all the aid that a kind mother could bestow, she soon began to give proof of the importance of language to the developement of human character: caressing and chiding will do for infants and dogs, but not for children; and by the time Laura was seven years old, the moral effects of her privation began to appear. There was nothing to control her will but the absolute power of another, and humanity revolts at this; she had already begun to disregard all but the sterner nature of her father; and it was evident, that as the propensi-

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ties should increase with her physical growth, so would the difficulty of restraining them increase.

"At this time, I was so fortunate as to hear of the child, and immediately hastened to Hanover, to see her. I found her with a well-formed figure; a strongly-marked, nervous-sanguine temperament; a large and beautifully shaped head, and the whole system in healthy action." — pp. 24, 25.

In October, 1837, she was brought to the Institution for the Blind in Boston.

"For a while, she was much bewildered; and after waiting about two weeks, until she became acquainted with her new locality, and somewhat familiar with the inmates, the attempt was made to give her knowledge of arbitrary signs, by which she could interchange thoughts with others.

* * * * *

"The first experiments were made by taking articles in common use, such as knives, forks, spoons, keys, &c., and pasting upon them labels with their names printed in raised letters. These she felt of very carefully, and soon, of course, distinguished that the crooked lines *s p o o n*, differed as much from the crooked lines *k e y*, as the spoon differed from the key in form.

"Then small detached labels, with the same words printed upon them, were put into her hands; and she soon observed that they were similar to the ones pasted on the articles. She showed her perception of this similarity by laying the label *k e y* upon the key, and the label *s p o o n* upon the spoon. She was encouraged here by the natural sign of approbation, patting on the head.

"The same process was then repeated with all the articles which she could handle; and she very easily learned to place the proper labels upon them. It was evident, however, that the only intellectual exercise was that of imitation and memory. She recollected that the label *b o o k* was placed upon a book, and she repeated the process first from imitation, next from memory, with the only motive the love of approbation, but apparently without the intellectual perception of any relation between the things.

"After a while, instead of labels, the individual letters were given to her on detached bits of paper; they were arranged side by side, so as to spell *b o o k*, *k e y*, &c.; then they were mixed up in a heap, and a sign was made for her to arrange them herself, so as to express the words *book*, *key*, &c., and she did so.

"Hitherto, the process had been mechanical, and the success about as great as teaching a very knowing dog, a variety

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of tricks. The poor child had sat in mute amazement, and patiently imitated every thing her teacher did ; but now the truth began to flash upon her, — her intellect began to work, — she perceived that here was a way by which she could herself make up a sign of any thing that was in her own mind, and show it to another mind, and at once her countenance lighted up with a human expression ; it was no longer a dog, or parrot, — it was an immortal spirit, eagerly seizing upon a new link of union with other spirits ! I could almost fix upon the moment when this truth dawned upon her mind, and spread its light to her countenance ; I saw that the great obstacle was overcome, and that henceforward nothing but patient and persevering, but plain and straightforward efforts were to be used.

" The result thus far is quickly related, and easily conceived ; but not so was the process ; for many weeks of apparently unprofitable labor were passed, before it was effected.

" When it was said above, that a sign was made, it was intended to say, that the action was performed by her teacher, she feeling of his hands, and then imitating the motion.

" The next step was to procure a set of metal types, with the different letters of the alphabet cast upon their ends ; also a board, in which were square holes, into which holes she could set the types, so that the letters on their ends could alone be felt above the surface.

" Then, on any article being handed to her, for instance, a pencil, or a watch, she would select the component letters, and arrange them on her board, and read them with apparent pleasure.

" She was exercised for several weeks in this way, until her vocabulary became extensive ; and then the important step was taken of teaching her how to represent the different letters by the position of her fingers, instead of the cumbrous apparatus of the board and types. She accomplished this speedily, and easily, for her intellect had begun to work in aid of her teacher, and her progress was rapid.

" This was the period, about three months after she had commenced, that the first report of her case was made, in which it is stated that ' she has just learned the manual alphabet, as used by the deaf mutes, and it is a subject of delight and wonder to see how rapidly, correctly, and eagerly, she goes on with her labors. Her teacher gives her a new object, for instance a pencil, first lets her examine it, and get an idea of its use, then teaches her how to spell it by making the signs for the letters with her own fingers ; the child grasps her hand, and feels of her fingers, as the different letters are formed, — she turns her head a little one side, like a person listening closely, — her lips are apart, —she seems scarcely to breathe

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— and her countenance, at first anxious, gradually changes to a smile, as she comprehends the lesson. She then holds up her tiny fingers, and spells the word in the manual alphabet ; next she takes her types and arranges her letters ; and last, to, make sure that she is right, takes the whole of the types composing the word, and places them upon or in contact with the pencil, or whatever the object may be.'

"The whole of the succeeding year was passed in gratifying her eager inquiries for the names of every object which she could possibly handle ; in exercising her in the use of the manual alphabet ; in extending in every possible way her knowledge of the physical relations of things ; and in proper care of her health." — pp. 25 – 27.

The following is an extract from the Report on her case, made at this period ;

"She never seems to repine, but has all the buoyancy and gayety of childhood. She is fond of fun and frolic, and when playing with the rest of the children, her shrill laugh sounds loudest of the group.

"When left alone, she seems very happy if she has her knitting or sewing, and will busy herself for hours ; if she has no occupation, she evidently amuses herself by imaginary dialogues, or by recalling past impressions ; she counts with her fingers, or spells out names of things which she has recently learned, in the manual alphabet of the deaf-mutes. In this lonely self-communion she seems to reason, reflect, and argue; if she spells a word wrong with the fingers of her right hand, she instantly strikes it with her left, as her teacher does, in sign of disapprobation ; if right, then she pats herself upon the head, and looks pleased. She sometimes purposely spells a word wrong with the left hand, looks roguish for a moment and laughs, and then with the right hand strikes the left, as if to correct it.

"During the year she has attained great dexterity in the use of the manual alphabet of the deaf-mutes ; and she spells out the words and sentences which she knows, so fast and deftly, that only those accustomed to this language can follow with the eye the rapid motions of her fingers.

"But wonderful as is the rapidity with which she writes her thoughts upon the air, still more so is the ease and accuracy with which she reads the words thus written by another, grasping their hands in hers, and following every movement of their fingers, as letter after letter conveys their meaning to her mind. It is in this way that she converses with her blind playmates ; and nothing can more forcibly show the power of mind in forcing matter to its purpose, than a meeting between them.

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For, if great talent and skill are necessary for two pantomimes to paint their thoughts and feelings by the movements of the body and the expression of the countenance, how much greater the difficulty when darkness shrouds them both, and the one can hear no sound!

"When Laura is walking through a passage way with her hands spread before her, she knows instantly every one she meets, and passes them with a sign of recognition; but if it be a girl of her own age, and especially if one of her favorites, there is instantly a bright smile of recognition,— and a twining of arms,—a grasping of hands,—and a swift telegraphing upon the tiny fingers, whose rapid evolutions convey the thoughts and feelings from the outposts of one mind to those of the other. There are questions and answers, — exchanges of joy, or sorrow, — there are kissings and partings, — just as between little children with all their senses." — pp. 27, 28.

She had been six months at the institution, when her mother came to visit her.

"The mother stood some time, gazing with overflowing eyes upon her unfortunate child, who, all unconscious of her presence, was playing about the room. Presently Laura ran against her, and at once began feeling of her hands, examining her dress, and trying to find out if she knew her; but not succeeding in this, she turned away as from a stranger, and the poor woman could not conceal the pang she felt, at finding that her beloved child did not know her.

"She then gave Laura a string of beads, which she used to wear at home, which were recognised by the child at once, who, with much joy, put them around her neck, and sought me eagerly, to say she understood the string was from her home.

"The mother now tried to caress her, but poor Laura repelled her, preferring to be with her acquaintances.

"Another article from home was now given her, and she began to look much interested; she examined the stranger much closer, and gave me to understand she knew she came from Hanover; she even endured her caresses, but would leave her with indifference at the slightest signal. The distress of the mother was now painful to behold; for, although she had feared that she should not be recognised, the painful reality of being treated with cold indifference by a darling child, was too much for woman's nature to bear.

"After a while, on the mother taking hold of her again, a vague idea seemed to flit across Laura's mind, that this could not be a stranger; she therefore felt of her hands very eagerly, while her countenance assumed an expression of intense

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interest, — she became very pale, and then suddenly red, — hope seemed struggling with doubt and anxiety, and never were contending emotions more strongly painted upon the human face ; at this moment of painful uncertainty, the mother drew her close to her side, and kissed her fondly, when at once the truth flashed upon the child, and all mistrust and anxiety disappeared from her face, as with an expression of exceeding joy she eagerly nestled to the bosom of her parent, and yielded herself to her fond embraces.

"After this, the beads were all unheeded ; the playthings which were offered to her were utterly disregarded ; her playmates, for whom but a moment before she gladly left the stranger, now vainly strove to pull her from her mother ; and though she yielded her usual instantaneous obedience to my signal to follow me, it was evidently with painful reluctance. She clung close to me, as if bewildered and fearful ; and when, after a moment, I took her to her mother, she sprang to her arms, and clung to her with eager joy." — pp. 28, 29.

The parting scene evinced alike her tenderness, intelligence, and resolution.

"Laura accompanied her mother to the door, clinging close to her all the way, until they arrived at the threshold, where she paused, and felt around, to ascertain who was near her. Perceiving the matron, of whom she is very fond, she grasped her with one hand, holding on convulsively to her mother with the other, and thus she stood for a moment, — then she dropped her mother's hand, — put her handkerchief to her eyes, and turning round, clung sobbing to the matron, while her mother departed, with emotions as deep as those of her child." — p. 29.

At the end of the year 1839, when she had been a little more than two years at the Institution, her proficiency was thus described ;

"Having mastered the manual alphabet of the deaf-mutes, and learned to spell readily the names of every thing within her reach, she was then taught words expressive of positive qualities, as, *hardness*, *softness* ; and she readily learned to express the quality, by connecting the adjectives *hard* or *soft* with the substantive ; though she generally followed what one would suppose to be the natural order in the succession of ideas, by placing the substantive first.

"It was found too difficult, however, then to make her understand any general expression of quality, as *hardness*,

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softness, in the abstract. Indeed, this is a process of mind most difficult of performance to any, especially to deaf-mutes.

"Next she was taught those expressions of relation to place, which she could understand. For instance, a ring was taken and placed *on* a box, then the words were spelt to her, and she repeated them from imitation. Then the ring was placed *on* a hat, and a sign given her to spell; she spelt, *ring on box*, — but being checked, and the right words given, she immediately began to exercise her judgment, and, as usual, seemed intently thinking. Then the same was repeated with a bag, a desk, and a great many other things, until at last she learned that she must name the thing *on* which the article was.

"Then the same article was put *into* the box, and the words "ring *in* box" given to her. This puzzled her for many minutes, and she made many mistakes; for instance, after she had learned to say correctly whether the ring was *on* or *in* a box, a drawer, a hat, a bucket, &c., if she were asked, "where is house, or matron," she would say, "*in* box." Cross-questioning, however, is seldom necessary to ascertain whether she really understands the force of the words she is learning; for when the true meaning dawns upon her mind, the light spreads to her countenance.

"In this case, the perception seemed instantaneous, and the natural sign by which she expressed it was peculiar and striking; she spelt *on*, then laid her hand *on* the other; then she spelt *into*, and enclosed one hand *within* the other.

"She easily acquired a knowledge and use of active verbs, especially those expressive of *tangible action;* as to *walk*, to *run*, to *sew*, to *shake*.

"At first, of course, no distinction could be made of mood and tense; she used the words in a general sense, and according to the order of her *sense of ideas*. Thus, in asking some one to give her bread, she would first use the word expressive of the leading idea, and say, *Bread, give, Laura*. If she wanted water, she would say, *Water, drink, Laura*.

"Soon, however, she learned the use of the auxiliary verbs, of the difference of past, present, and future tense. For instance, here is an early sentence; *Keller is sick, — when will Keller well;* the use of *be* she had not acquired.

"Having acquired the use of substantives, adjectives, verbs, prepositions, and conjunctions, it was thought time to make the experiment of trying to teach her to *write*, and to show her that she might communicate her ideas to persons not in contact with her.

"It was amusing to witness the mute amazement with which she submitted to the process, the docility with which she imi-

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tated every motion, and the perseverance with which she moved her pencil over and over again in the same track, until she could form the letter. But when at last the idea dawned upon her, that by this mysterious process she could make other people understand what she thought, her joy was boundless.

"Never did a child apply more eagerly and joyfully to any task, than she did to this; and in a few months she could make every letter distinctly, and separate words from each other; and she actually wrote, unaided, a legible letter to her mother, in which she expressed the idea of her being well, and of her expectation of going home in a few weeks. It was indeed a very rude and imperfect letter, couched in the language which a prattling infant would use. Still it shadowed forth, and expressed to her mother, the ideas that were passing in her own mind.

"She is familiar with the processes of addition and subtraction in small numbers. Subtraction of one number from another puzzled her for a time; but by help of objects she accomplished it. She can count and conceive objects to about one hundred in number; to express an indefinitely great number, or more than she can count, she says, *hundred.* If she thought a friend was to be absent many years, she would say, *will come hundred Sundays*, — meaning weeks. She is pretty accurate in measuring time, and seems to have an intuitive tendency to do it. Unaided by the changes of night and day, by the light, or the sound of any timepiece, she nevertheless divides time pretty accurately.

"With the days of the week, and the week itself as a whole, she is perfectly familiar. For instance; if asked what day will it be in fifteen days more, she readily names the day of the week. The day she divides by the commencement and end of school, by the recesses, and by the arrival of meal-times.

"Those persons who hold that the capacity of perceiving and measuring the lapse of time is an innate and distinct faculty of the mind, may deem it an important fact, that Laura evidently can measure time so accurately, as to distinguish between a half and whole note of music.

"Seated at the piano forte, she will strike the notes in a measure like the following, quite correctly.

"Now it will be perceived, that she must have clear perception of lapse of time, in order to strike the two eighths at

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the right instant; for in the first measure they occur at the second beat, in the second measure at the third beat.

"Her judgment of distances and of relations of place is very accurate. She will rise from her seat, go straight towards a door, put out her hand just at the right time, and grasp the handle with precision." — pp. 29 – 31.

The first prodigious difficulties thus happily overcome, her progress during the last year, which completed the eleventh year of her age, was, of course, more rapid. We reluctantly omit a few of the details in Dr. Howe's recent statement. We should do it too much wrong by any attempt to abridge it further.

"Her health has been very good. She has not grown much in height, but her frame has filled out.

"A perceptible change has taken place in the size and shape of her head; and though unfortunately the measurement taken two years ago has been mislaid, every one who has been well acquainted with her, notices a marked increase in the size of the forehead. She is now just eleven years old; and her height is four feet, four inches, and seven tenths. Her head measures twenty inches and eight tenths in circumference, in a line drawn around it, and passing over the prominences of the parietal, and those of the frontal bones; above this line the head rises one inch and one tenth, and is broad and full. The measurement is four inches from one orifice of the ear to the other; and from the occipital spine to the root of the nose, it is seven inches.

"Nothing has occurred to indicate the slightest perception of light or sound, or any hope of it; and although some of those who are much with her, suppose that her smell is more acute than it was, even this seems very doubtful.

"It is true that she sometimes applies things to her nose, but often it is merely in imitation of the blind children about her; and it is unaccompanied by that peculiar lighting up of the countenance, which is observable whenever she discovers any new quality in an object.

"It was stated in the first report, that she could perceive very pungent odors, such as that of cologne; but it seemed to be as much by the irritation they produced upon the nervous membrane of the nares, as by any impression upon the olfactory nerve.

"It is clear that the sensation cannot be pleasurable, nor even a source of information to her respecting physical qualities; for such is her eagerness to gain this information, that could smell serve her, she would exercise it incessantly.

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"Those who have seen Julia Brace, or any other deaf-blind person, could hardly fail to observe how quickly they apply every thing which they feel, to the nose; and how by this incessant exercise, the smell becomes almost incredibly acute. Now with Laura this is not the case; she seldom puts a new thing to her nose; and when she does, it is mechanically, as it were, and without any interest.

"Her sense of touch has evidently improved in acuteness; for she now distinguishes more accurately the different undulations of the air, or the vibrations of the floor, than she did last year. She perceives very readily when a door is opened or shut, though she may be sitting at the opposite side of the room. She perceives also the tread of persons upon the floor.

"Her mental perceptions, resulting from sensation, are much more rapid than they were, for she now perceives by the slightest touch, qualities and conditions of things, similar to those she had formerly to feel long and carefully for. So with persons, she recognises her acquaintances in an instant, by touching their hands or their dress; and there are probably fifty individuals, who if they should stand in a row, and hold out each a hand to her, would be recognised by that alone."

* * * * *

"The progress which she has made in intellectual acquirements, can be fully appreciated by those only who have seen her frequently. The improvement, however, is made evident by her greater command of language; and by the conception which she now has of the force of parts of speech, which last year she did not use in her simple sentences; for instance, of pronouns, which she has begun to use within six months. Last spring, returning fatigued from her journey home, she complained of a pain in her side, and on being asked what caused it, she used these words, *Laura did go to see mother, ride did make Laura side ache, horse was wrong, did not run softly.* If she were now to express the same thing she would say, *I* did go to see mother, ride did make *my* side ache. This will be seen by an extract from one of her teachers' diary of last month, 'Dec. 18th. To-day Laura asked me 'what is voice?' I told her as well as I could, that it was an impression made upon another when people talk with their mouth. She then said, '*I do not voice.*' I said, 'can you talk with your mouth'? Answer, '*No;*' 'why?' '*Because I am very deaf and dumb.*' 'Can you see?' '*No, because I am blind, I did not talk with fingers when I came with my mother, Doctor did teach me on fork, — what was on fork?*' I told her paper was fixed on forks; she then said, '*I did learn to read much with types. Doctor did teach me in nursery. Drusilla was very sick all over.*'

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"The words here given (and indeed in all cases) are precisely as she used them; for great care is taken to note them at the time of utterance. It will be observed that she uses the pronoun, personal and possessive; and so ready is she to conceive the propriety of it, and the impropriety of her former method, that upon my recently saying, 'Doctor will teach Laura,' she eagerly shook my arm to correct me, and told me to say, '*I will teach you.*' She is delighted when she can catch any one in an error like this; and she shows her sense of the ludicrous, by laughter, and gratifies her innocent self-esteem by displaying her knowledge.

"It will be observed that these words are all spelled correctly; and indeed her accuracy in this respect is remarkable. She requires to have a word spelled to her only once, or twice at most, and she will seldom fail to spell it right ever afterwards.

"I will give some sentences such as she was accustomed to use about the commencement of the past year, and contrast them with those of later date. Riding in the stage coach with her teacher over a rough road, she said, '*Laura will say to man horse will run softly, — horse is wrong.*' Sitting at breakfast she asked; '*who did make egg?*' — Ans. 'hen;' '*With foot?*' Ans. 'No;' '*Laura do love egg, hen will make more.*'

"Here are some of her sentences of a more recent date, and subsequently to her learning the use of pronouns, the numbers of nouns, &c. Being surprised lately that I had not examined her for some time, she stopped short in her lesson, and said to her teacher, '*Doctor is not glad that I can cipher good;*' being asked why, she said, '*because he does not want me to show him sum.*' She was told I was busy, and had gone to the city; she said, '*horse will be much tired to go to Boston all days.*'

"She easily learned the difference between the singular and plural form, but was inclined for some time to apply the rule of adding *s*, universally. For instance, at her first lesson she had the words *arm-arms*, *hand-hands*, &c.; then being asked to form the plural of *box*, she said *box s*, &c., and for a long time she would form the plural by the general rule, as *lady, ladys*, &c.

"One of the girls had the mumps; Laura learned the name of the disease; and soon after she had it herself, but she had the swelling only on one side; and some one saying, 'you have got the mumps, she replied quickly, '*no no, I have mump.*'

"She was a long time in learning words expressive of comparison; indeed her teacher quite despaired of making her understand the difference between *good, better*, and *best*, after

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having spent many days in the attempt. By perseverance, however, and by giving her an idea of comparative sizes, she was at last enabled to use comparisons pretty well. She seemed to attach to the word *large*, when connected with an object, a substantive meaning, and to consider it a specific name of the particular thing."

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"The word *or*, insignificant as it seems, has been a stumblingblock to Laura up to this day.

"With pronouns she had very little difficulty. It was thought best at first to talk with her as one does with an infant; and she learned to reply in the same way. *Laura want water, give Laura water;* but she readily learned to substitute the pronoun, and now says *give me water, — I want water*, &c. Indeed she will not allow persons to address her in the third person, but instantly corrects them, being proud to show her knowledge.

"She learned the difference between present and past tense the last year, but made use of the auxiliaries; during this year she has learned the method of inflecting the verb. In this process too, her perfect simplicity rebukes the clumsy irregularities of our language: she learned *jump, jumped, — walk, walked*, &c., until she had an idea of the mode of forming the imperfect tense, but when she came to the word *see*, she insisted that it should be *seed* in the imperfect; and after this, upon going down to dinner, she asked if it was *eat — eated*, but being told it was *ate*, she seemed to try to express the idea that this transposition of letters was not only wrong, but ludicrous, for she laughed heartily."

* * * * *

"The most recent exercises have been upon those words which require attention to one's own mental operations, such as *remember, forget, expect, hope*, &c.

"Greater difficulties have been experienced in these than in her former lessons, but they have been so far surmounted that she uses many words of this kind, with a correct perception of their meaning.

"The day after her first lesson on the words *I remember*, and *I forget*, this memorandum was made of her second lesson on the same words; Question — 'What do you remember you did do last Sunday?' Answer — '*I remember not to go to meeting*,' meaning that she did not go to meeting. Question; 'What do you remember you did do on Monday?' Answer; '*To walk in streets, on snow;*' this was correct. Question; 'What do you remember you did do in vacation?' Answer; '*What is vacation?*' This was a new word to her; she had

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been accustomed to say '*when is no school,*' or '*when girls go home.*' The word being explained, she said '*I remember to go to Halifax;*' meaning that she did go to Halifax, which was true. 'What do you remember you did in vacation before?' Answer; '*to play with Olive, Maria, and Lydia.*' These were the girls who had been her companions.

"Wishing to make her use the word *forget*, I pushed the questions back to periods which she could not recall. I said, 'what did you do when you was a little baby?' She replied laughing, '*I did cry,*' and made the sign of tears running down her cheeks.

"'What did you *say?* — [no answer]; did you talk with fingers?' '*No,*' [very decidedly]; 'did you talk with mouth? — [a pause] — what did you say with mouth?' — '*I forget.*' I then quickly let her know, that this was the proper word, and of the same force as, I *do not remember.* Thinking this to be a good opportunity of testing her recollection of her infancy, many questions were put to her; but all that could be learned satisfactorily was, that she could recollect lying on her back, and in her mother's arms, and having medicines poured down her throat,— or in her own words, '*I remember mother to give me medicines,*' — making the signs of lying down, and of pouring liquids down the throat.

"It was not until after she had learned a few words of this kind, that it was possible to carry her mind backwards to her infancy; and to the best of my judgment, she has no recollection of any earlier period than the long and painful illness in which she lost her senses. She seems to have no recollection of any words of prattle, which she might have learned in the short respite which she enjoyed from bodily suffering.

"Her idea of oral conversation, it seems to me, is that people make signs with the mouth and lips, as she does with her fingers."

* * * * *

"When Laura first began to use words, she evidently had no idea of any other use, than to express the individual existence of things, as *book*, *spoon*, &c. The sense of touch had, of course, given her an idea of their existence, and of their individual characteristics; but one would suppose that specific differences would have been suggested to her also; that is, that in feeling of many books, spoons, &c., she would have reflected that some were large, some small, some heavy, some light, and been ready to use words expressive of the specific or generic character. But it would seem not to have been so, and her first use of the words *great*, *small*, *heavy*, &c., was to express merely individual peculiarities; *great book* was to her

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the double name of a particular book; *heavy stone* was one particular stone; she did not consider these terms as expressive of *substantive* specific differences, or any differences of quality; the words *great* and *heavy* were not considered abstractly, as the name of a general quality, but they were blended in her mind with the name of the objects in which they existed. At least, such seemed to me to be the case, and it was not until some time after, that the habit of abstraction enabled her to apply words of generic signification in their proper way.

"This view is confirmed by the fact, that when she learned that persons had both individual and family names, she supposed that the same rule must apply to inanimate things, and asked earnestly what was the other name for *chair*, *table*, &c.

"Several of the instances which have been quoted, will show her disposition to form her words by rule, and to admit of no exceptions; having learned to form the plurals by adding *s*, the imperfect by adding *ed*, &c., she would apply this to every new noun or verb; consequently the difficulty hitherto has been greater, and her progress slower, than it will be, for she has mastered the most common words, and these seem to be the ones that have been most broken up by the rough colloquial usage of unlettered people."

* * * * *

"The moral qualities of her nature have also developed themselves more clearly. She is remarkably correct in her deportment; and few children of her age evince so much sense of propriety in regard to appearance. Never, by any possibility, is she seen out of her room with her dress disordered; and if by chance any spot of dirt is pointed out to her on her person, or any little rent in her dress, she discovers a sense of shame, and hastens to remove it.

"She is never discovered in an attitude or an action, at which the most fastidious would revolt, but is remarkable for neatness, order, and propriety.

"There is one fact which is hard to explain in any way; it is the difference of her deportment to persons of different sex. This was observable when she was only seven years old. She is very affectionate, and when with her friends of her own sex, she is constantly clinging to them, and often kissing and caressing them; and when she meets with strange ladies, she very soon becomes familiar, examines very freely their dress, and readily allows them to caress her. But with those of the other sex it is entirely different, and she repels every approach to familiarity. She is attached, indeed, to some, and is fond of being with them; but she will not sit upon their knee, for in-

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stance, or allow them to take her round the waist, or submit to those innocent familiarities which it is common to take with children of her age."

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"She seems to have also, a remarkable degree of conscientiousness, for one of her age; she respects the rights of others, and will insist upon her own.

"She is fond of acquiring property, and seems to have an idea of ownership of things which she has long since laid aside, and no longer uses. She has never been known to take any thing belonging to another; and never but in one or two instances to tell a falsehood, and then only under strong temptation. Great care, indeed has been taken, not to terrify her by punishment, or to make it so severe, as to tempt her to avoid it by duplicity, as children so often do.

"When she has done wrong, her teacher lets her know that she is grieved, and the tender nature of the child is shown by the ready tears of contrition, and the earnest assurances of amendment, with which she strives to comfort those whom she has pained.

"When she has done any thing wrong, and grieved her teacher, she does not strive to conceal it from her little companions, but communicates it to them, tells them '*it is wrong*,' and says, '*———* *cannot love wrong girl.*'

"When she has any thing nice given to her, she is particularly desirous that those who happen to be ill, or afflicted in any way, should share with her, although they may not be those whom she particularly loves in other circumstances; nay, even if it be one whom she dislikes. She loves to be employed in attending the sick, and is most assiduous in her simple attentions, and tender and endearing in her demeanor.

"It has been remarked in former reports, that she can distinguish different degrees of intellect in others, and that she soon regarded almost with contempt, a new comer, when, after a few days, she discovered her weakness of mind. This unamiable part of her character has been more strongly developed during the past year.

"She chooses for her friends and companions, those children who are intelligent, and can talk best with her; and she evidently dislikes to be with those who are deficient in intellect, unless, indeed, she can make them serve her purposes, which she is evidently inclined to do. She takes advantage of them, and makes them wait upon her, in a manner that she knows she could not exact of others; and in various ways she shows her Saxon blood.

She is fond of having other children noticed and caressed by

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the teachers, and those whom she respects; but this must not be carried too far, or she becomes jealous. She wants to have her share, which, if not the lion's, is the greater part; and if she does not get it, she says, '*My mother will love me.*'

"Her tendency to imitation is so strong, that it leads her to actions which must be entirely incomprehensible to her, and which can give her no other pleasure than the gratification of an internal faculty. She has been known to sit for half an hour, holding a book before her sightless eyes, and moving her lips, as she has observed seeing people do when reading.

"She one day pretended that her doll was sick, and went through all the motions of tending it, and giving it medicine; she then put it carefully to bed, and placed a bottle of hot water to its feet, laughing all the time most heartily. When I came home, she insisted upon my going to see it, and feel its pulse; and when I told her to put a blister to its back, she seemed to enjoy it amazingly, and almost screamed with delight.

"Her social feelings, and her affections, are very strong; and when she is sitting at work, or at her studies, by the side of one of her little friends, she will break off from her task every few moments, to hug and kiss them with an earnestness and warmth, that is touching to behold.

"When left alone, she occupies and apparently amuses herself, and seems quite contented; and so strong seems to be the natural tendency of thought to put on the garb of language, that she often soliloquizes in the *finger language*, slow and tedious as it is. But it is only when alone, that she is quiet; for if she becomes sensible of the presence of any one near her, she is restless until she can sit close beside them, hold their hand, and converse with them by signs.

"She does not cry from vexation and disappointment, like other children, but only from grief. If she receives a blow by accident, or hurts herself, she laughs and jumps about, as if trying to drown the pain by muscular action. If the pain is severe, she does not go to her teachers or companions for sympathy, but on the contrary tries to get away by herself, and then seems to give vent to a feeling of spite, by throwing herself about violently, and roughly handling whatever she gets hold of.

"Twice only have tears been drawn from her by the severity of pain, and then she ran away, as if ashamed of crying for an accidental injury. But the fountain of her tears is by no means dried up, as is seen when her companions are in pain, or her teacher is grieved.

"In her intellectual character, it is pleasing to observe an insatiable thirst for knowledge, and a quick perception of the

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relations of things. In her moral character, it is beautiful to behold her continual gladness, her keen enjoyment of existence, her expansive love, her unhesitating confidence, her sympathy with suffering, her conscientiousness, truthfulness, and hopefulness.

"No religious feeling, properly so called, has developed itself; nor is it yet time, perhaps, to look for it. But she has shown a disposition to respect those who have power and knowledge, and to love those who have goodness; and when her perceptive faculties shall have taken cognizance of the operations of nature, and she shall be accustomed to trace effects to their causes, then may her veneration be turned to Him who is almighty, her respect to Him who is omniscient, and her love to Him who is all goodness and love!

"Until then, I shall not deem it wise, by premature effort, to incur the risk of giving her ideas of God, which would be alike unworthy of His character, and fatal to her peace.

"I should fear that she might personify him in a way too common with children, who clothe him with unworthy, and sometimes grotesque attributes, which their subsequently developed reason condemns, but strives in vain to correct."—pp. 32–40.

We have restricted ourselves to an exhibition of the main facts of this unprecedented case, as they are recorded by Dr. Howe in the recent Report. He has connected with them many important observations, for which we would also find room, were it not that they may be laid before our readers to still better advantage, when some of them shall have been further pursued. We wait the result of his continued efforts with profound interest. It is with difficulty that we abstain from the attempt to express, — faintly, after all, it would have to be, — our sense of the worth of his labors; but to those who have the true heart for such, the praise of men is apt to be felt as scarcely better than intrusion and annoyance. This is a wide and busy world, and in it a great many great things are done and talked about; but it has exceedingly few things for the ambition or enjoyment of a wise man, to be compared with the consciousness of services like these in the cause of afflicted humanity.

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ART. X. — 1. *Original-Beiträge zur Deutschen Schaubühne.* 4 Bänd. Dresden und Leipzig. 1836 – 1839. [Original Contributions to the German Stage.]

2. *Social Life in Germany, illustrated in the Acted Dramas of Her Royal Highness*, the PRINCESS AMELIA of Saxony. *Translated from the German, with an Introduction and Notes, explanatory of the German Language and Manners.* By MRS. JAMESON, Author of "Visits and Sketches at Home and Abroad," "Characteristics of Women," "Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada," &c. London: Saunders & Otley. Vols. I. and II. pp. lxxix, 264 and 399.

SINCE Madame de Staël, no more brilliant female writer has appeared in European Literature than Mrs. Jameson. She has not the originality, the versatility, nor the fiery vigor of the renowned author of "Corinne"; but she has more taste, a finer appreciation of the beautiful, a keener insight into the mysteries of art, and a higher style of æsthetic criticism. Her first work, the "Diary of an Ennuyée," was published anonymously, many years ago. That book was deeply tinged with a sentimental hue, which was vastly attractive to imaginative young people of both sexes; but besides this, and better than this, it contained the finest descriptions of Italian scenery that have ever been written, glowing and eloquent discussions of the merits of the great masters of art in Italy, and personal characteristics, all wrought up in a copious, elegant, and brilliant style, which even then gave an earnest of the great success which the author was destined to attain in after years. The narrative part of the work drew from many tender-hearted readers tears of regret at the untimely fate of one so young and so accomplished; and while she was growing in strength, and imping her wing for a bolder flight, they were indulging in silent sorrow, that a fair woman, who had moved them so deeply by her sad eloquence, should have died broken-hearted in the midst of her swan-like strains. We remember to have read, in a journal of no small merit, the "Southern Literary Messenger," a notice of the American edition of the "Diary," in which the particulars of the melancholy story were solemnly recited, long after Mrs. Jameson had become widely known as a living, healthy,

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hearty, and most agreeable English woman, who was likely to live a long physical life, and certain to enjoy a literary immortality ; — so deep was the impression made by that tale of woe upon the public mind. A warning this, (we may say, in passing,) to all literary ladies, not to commit themselves, by pretending to die before they mean to do so. People do not like to spend their tears, — those precious pearly drops, — to no purpose ; if you once cause it to be given out that you are dead, you will certainly be considered and treated as such ; and the burden of proof to the contrary ever afterwards rests upon yourself ; you will be considered dead until you have clearly proved yourself alive. Whether, in the case referred to, the proof ought to have satisfied the "Messenger," we pretend not to decide ; it certainly did not, and that is enough to settle the point we have been stating.

The "Characteristics of Women" are universally known. But one opinion has ever been expressed of their rare merits. Everybody, perhaps, will not agree with all of Mrs. Jameson's views upon each of the Shakspearian women ; for it is a wonderful testimony to the miraculous genius of Shakspeare, that we discuss the motives and characters of his personages just as we discuss the characters of real life, and form different opinions of them, according to the light in which they happen to strike us, or according to our own peculiar turn of thought or moral feeling ; and this remark does not apply to the characters of any other dramatist whatever. But, whether we agree or not with Mrs. Jameson's views, we must admit that she has studied Shakspeare's women profoundly ; that she has scrutinized them with a keenness never surpassed ; that she has sympathized with them as woman alone can sympathize with the sufferings and emotions of her sex, whether in fiction or reality. She has sometimes made more of them, perhaps, than ever entered the mind of Shakspeare. To his teeming invention, human beings formed of airy nothing crowded together with a sort of visionary reality, and then vanished away ; just as breathing and moving beings in the thronged metropolis pass before the spectator's eye, and a moment after disappear. Some notion of their real qualities is impressed upon the spectator's mind, and, were he to embody it in works of art, the student would evolve from those works completely unfolded characters, by making the unknown harmonious with the known ; characters, which, in

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their completeness, the artist never conceived, and yet, which may be strictly accordant with nature. This is what Mrs. Jameson has done for Shakspeare's women ; and the manner in which she has done it is so marked with taste, right feeling, ingenuity, and magnificent eloquence, that her book will always be read with delight, wherever Shakspeare is studied, that is, wherever European civilization extends. Mrs. Jameson's illustrations of her views upon dramatic characters, drawn from the works of the great masters in the fine arts, are of the highest order of merit, and lend an irresistible charm to the book by the multitude of beautiful associations which they excite. On the whole, considered as a book of criticism, the "Characteristics of Women" may be placed very nearly at the head of that department of literature ; on a level at least with, if not higher than, the celebrated lectures of the Schlegels.

Mrs. Jameson's next work, the "Visits and Sketches," was less elaborately written, but showed the same general traits. Her sketches of Germany, especially of the artists of Germany, were thrown off with great vivacity, and a passionate love of her subject. To the English and American public, they conveyed a great deal of information about the men and things of that studious land. The account of Retsch, the illustrator of Goethe and Shakspeare, dwells upon our mind as a fine passage in the book, and a beautiful specimen of Mrs. Jameson's peculiar powers. The "Winter Sketches and Summer Rambles in Canada," is a still more hastily written book, devoted in part to subjects very different from any that had hitherto employed her pen. The scenery of America, particularly along the northern frontier of the United States, and in Canada, was never more vividly described ; and the literary episodes woven from her studies into the tissue of her book, give it a delicious variety. Mrs. Jameson has published several other works of great merit ; but it is not necessary or desirable to particularize them here. We have only touched rapidly upon a few of her writings, — those most characteristic of her remarkable genius, — by way of introduction to the account, which we now proceed to give, of her last publication, the title of which is placed second at the head of the present article.

It cannot be denied, that German Literature has come to exercise a great influence upon the intellectual character of

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Europe and America. We may lament over this fact, or rejoice at it, according to our several points of view; but we cannot disguise from ourselves its existence. It is thrust upon our notice at every corner of the street; it stares us in the face from the pages of every literary journal. All the sciences own the power of that influence; on poetry and criticism it acts still more sensibly. Theology is putting on such a foreign look, that we scarcely recognise our old acquaintance under her masquerading Teutonic garb. Even our good, honest, old-fashioned English language has caught the infection, and from time to time attempts to imitate the indescribable tricks, — the fantastic capers, — the elephantine dances of her High Dutch country cousin. Where all this will end, it passes the wit of man to know. We hope to be able to hold fast our Spensers, our Miltons, our Shakspeares, and our Walter Scotts, at least.

In such a state of the intellectual world, we are interested to know all we can about this extraordinary people. They are incessantly toiling in the great intellectual workshop of the world; the productions of their great energies are, like the Cyclopean walls of old, the wonder and astonishment of the age. Do these people eat and drink and sleep like the rest of the world? or have they some principle of vitality denied to other mortals, by which they are enabled to task their intellects beyond other men, without the terrible penalties which the rest of the world have to pay,—the penalties of hypochondria, dyspepsy, broken down bodies, and enfeebled minds? How is it that a dense population in the heart of Europe, with innumerable princely, ducal, archducal houses, — Highnesses, Serene Highnesses, "thoroughly illustrious" without end, — to support; with all the restraints of etiquette, the hitherto impassable barriers that have separated class from class, with but little commerce, and with comparatively scanty resources of fortune; how is it that such a population have become the most cosmopolitan people on earth; have absorbed the intellectual influences of all other nations into their own being; have become the "cousin Germans," as they have wittily been called, of all the world; have gone back to the remotest period, and breathed into its dry bones the breath of life; have restored the buried forms of classical and oriental antiquity; have explored the mysteries of every science, and expounded the principles of every art, with an industry and enthusiasm

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hitherto unheard of and unseen? These are questions not easily answered. It is plain that the causes of these marvellous phenomena must lie far below the surface, and in the deepest recesses of the national history and character. The present condition of German society, as indicated by the mirror of literature, has been preparing by influences that have wrought upon it from time immemorial; and to trace out those influences would require volumes, instead of the few pages that we can at present give to the Princess Amelia's plays and Mrs. Jameson's book. But it is equally plain that the peculiar influences of the present age are acting with amazing energy upon the forms and conditions of German society. The democratic tendencies of the times are making themselves felt throughout the heaving mass of German intellect,— *mens agitat molem*,— and the great interests of humanity are preparing a triumph over the narrow spirit of caste, and asserting their claims side by side with the abstractions of philosophy, and the elegancies of poetry and art. A princess of the Royal House of Saxony, with the Styx of etiquette and formality "winding nine times round her," steps forth, obedient to the genius of the age, breaks through the restraints by which that royal line had been ever before environed, enters the arena of letters, and in a very peculiar department, bears away the palm from her untitled compeers, long before her illustrious rank is known or suspected. In a series of dramas, — among the most remarkable literary phenomena of the age, — she portrays, with unrivalled elegance and rare humor, the features of German common life, and gives a new tone to the theatrical literature of her country. We are indebted to Mrs. Jameson's preface and notes for the following facts in this royal lady's life.

Amelia-Maria-Frederica-Augusta (like the Vicar of Wakefield we love to give the whole name), Duchess and Princess of Saxony, was born in 1794, and is now consequently forty-seven years old. Her father was Prince Maximilian, the youngest son of the Elector Frederic Christian. Her uncle, Frederic Augustus, ruled Saxony for sixty-four years, as Elector and king, — as Elector from 1763 to 1806, and as king from 1806 to 1827. The Princess Amelia was ten years old when her mother the Princess of Parma died, in 1804. Her education was conducted by her two aunts, the Queen Maria Amelia, and the Princess Maria Theresa.

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"From this time till 1815, the Princess Amelia shared in all the vicissitudes of her family; saw her uncle-king twice exiled from his estates, and twice restored, a prisoner and again on his throne; and during these chances and changes and reverses, which occurred during the most momentous period of a woman's life, from the age of twelve to that of three and twenty, what Amelia of Saxony with all her good and rare gifts of nature, her quick perceptions and quick sympathies, might be feeling and thinking and suffering and learning, we have no means of ascertaining; only the result is before us, and it is most remarkable. Would not any one have imagined that the tremendous drama played before her eyes, the sound of battle-thunder in her ears, would have given a high poetical turn to her mind, — inspired gorgeous themes of tragedy, wondrous and pitiful?

> 'A kingdom for a stage, — princes to act,
> And monarchs to behold the swelling scene?' —

No such thing! Borne on the surface of that great wave which had wrecked and overwhelmed empires, she was floated, as it were, into quite another hemisphere, — the new world of real and popular life; awakening far more curiosity, sympathy, and interest, than the game of war and ambition played by her equals around her. What opportunities were granted to study variety of scenes and variety of characters, — 'to grapple with real nature,' — to extend on every side her sphere of observation, at an age when the fresh youthful mind was warm to every impression, were not then lost, — were, on the contrary, put to most profitable use, though, perhaps, unconsciously. From their retreat at Prague, she returned with her family, in 1815, to inhabit the palace of her ancestors at Dresden, — a very different being, I imagine, from what she would have been had she never left it; yet — no, I correct myself, — not different in *being*, but different in *working*. The nature would have been there, — the power; but would it ever have received the current stamp of authenticity, which only act and performance could give it? — that is the point." — Vol. I. *Introduction*, pp. xxxvii – xxxix.

After the restoration of her family, the Princess accompanied her father to Italy, one of her younger sisters being the wife of the present Grand Duke of Tuscany, and another having married his father, the late Grand Duke. Her younger sister married Ferdinand the Seventh, of Spain, who is said to have offered his hand first to the Princess Amelia. In 1824 she paid a visit of some months to her sister in

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Spain. In 1827, her uncle King Frederic Augustus died, and was succeeded by his brother Anthony. In 1830, the government of Saxony was changed from a despotism to a limited monarchy, with an Upper and Lower House of Assembly, and Prince Maximilian, the father of Amelia, resigned his claims in favor of his son Frederic, who assumed the government, with the title of Crown Prince and Co-Regent of Saxony. Prince Maximilian lived in complete seclusion from this time until his death. In 1833 the Princess sent her drama of "Lüge und Wahrheit" (Falsehood and Truth), to the Court Theatre at Berlin, under the assumed name of Amelia Heiter. It remained unnoticed until February, 1834, when it was represented at the private theatre of the Prinzessinnen-Pallast, on the birthday of the Princess of Mecklenburg, a daughter of the King of Prussia. It became at once universally popular, and was successfully produced on every stage in Germany. In the same year her "Braut aus der Residenz" (The Bride from Town), made its appearance, and this was followed by the "Verlobung's-Ring" (Betrothal Ring), which was performed at Berlin in 1835. "Die Fürstenbraut" (The Princely Bride) soon after appeared, and was played for the first time at Dresden. This was succeeded in the same year by "Der Oheim" (The Uncle), which is considered by many her masterpiece, and is said to be the most popular of her dramas. Early in 1836, she produced "Der Landwirth" (The Farmer), which is commonly ranked next to "The Uncle." Her next production was "Der Zögling" (The Protégé), translated by Mrs. Jameson "The Young Ward." In the same year she gave "Das Fräulein vom Lande" (The Country Girl), and "Der Unentschlossene" (The Irresolute Man), which was performed at Dresden. "Vetter Heinrich" (Cousin Henry), and "Der Pflegevater" (The Foster-Father), appeared in 1837, and "Der Majorâts-erbe" (the Heir to the Entail) in 1838. These were soon followed by "Die Unbelesene" (The Woman without Reading); since which, Mrs. Jameson states, two other pieces have appeared in Germany.

Here is a life of extraordinary literary activity for any one, — fifteen or sixteen dramas in about eight years; for a princess, actually wonderful. The merits of these pieces, both as literary performances, and as ingenious pictures of German society, are most remarkable. Mrs. Jameson suggests

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the comparison between them and the novels of Miss Jane Austen; and the comparison is just in the main, but will turn out to the advantage of the Princess. Nothing can surpass the minute fidelity of Miss Austen's family pictures, nor the skill with which she has worked up the materials of every-day life, — absolutely everyday life, without the least disguise or poetical coloring, — into tales of exceeding interest. But she never rises above this sphere of characters; she never idealizes in the least; she never utters a brilliant or striking sentiment, or soars with strong flight into the regions of eloquence; and this the Princess Amelia often does, the dictum of Mrs. Jameson to the contrary notwithstanding. She has a profounder insight into the depths of character and passion than Miss Austen; and the plots of her dramas excite a deeper interest, and call into play stronger feelings than those of Miss Austen's novels. The variety of characters, distinctly drawn, is also greater in the plays than in the novels. We should say that Miss Austen was the closer observer of external peculiarities, while the Princess Amelia had more of creative genius; the former delineates manners and little scenes of common life with minuter care; the latter touches the chords of the passions with a bolder hand. The former is more strictly national in her delineations; the latter, without ever violating her nationality, blends more of a cosmopolitan interest in hers. The former is exclusively English; the latter is very German, and something besides.

Of the manners and person of the Princess, Mrs. Jameson says;

"It will perhaps be a satisfaction to you to know, that I thought her deportment and personal appearance very much in harmony with the benign and womanly character of her works. She has a fine open brow, a clear, penetrating blue eye, and a mingled expression of benevolence and *finesse* lurking round her small mouth. Her manners are, for a Princess, not so much what you would call gracious, as simple and cordial; altogether she struck me as a very pleasing, lively, kind-hearted person."

To go a little more into detail with regard to this royal lady's peculiar genius. The volumes of her dramas which now lie before us contain a most interesting exhibition of rare intellectual endowments, and sound moral feeling. She has drawn a great variety of characters, and placed them with singular effect in most of the common relations of life. She

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has, like Miss Edgeworth, represented the fatal consequences of a single departure from perfect veracity, in her "Falsehood and Truth." She has, in the same piece, forcibly represented the temporary power which the passion for a young and beautiful woman may exercise over a high-principled man, in compelling him, strongly against his will, to assent, time and again, to what his conscience tells him is wrong; and the gradual dissipation of the charm, when his conscience is thoroughly awakened to the character of the tortuous policy of his mistress. In young Meerfeld, she has drawn an admirable portrait of the straight-forward merchant, who considers the signature to his marriage contract "at least as sacred as that to a bill of exchange." The contrast between this personage and Juliana is most skilfully managed, and their final union is brought about, improbable as such an event may at first sight appear, in such a way as to reconcile the seeming incongruities of character and principle, and to satisfy us that all will be well; that he is just the husband to mould her character to honor and truth, and that she is just the woman to form the happiness of the young merchant, by her beauty, wit, and accomplishments; that her repentance for her past insincerity is deep and sincere, and that her reformation will be made lasting by the example of spotless integrity held up to her in the daily conduct of Meerfeld. The character of Frederica, in the same play, is an exquisite creation; or rather an exquisite delineation from nature. A young and lovely woman,—dependent upon an uncle, who is too busy with the world's affairs to understand her intellectual powers and to prize her moral worth,—placed in daily contrast with the spoiled daughter of the house, in whose presence her simple and unpretending nature stands abashed, and by whose haughty spirit her lowly shrinking modesty is utterly despised,—Frederica, unobserved by all but her affectionate nurse Christine, silently goes on from day to day, discharging her unostentatious duties, filling her mind with all good knowledge, nurturing her moral being with the high and heroic sentiments of poetry, kindling her imagination with the masterpieces of the literature in her mother tongue, until at last the beauty and power of her character break upon the astonished minds of those around her, and she wins the wavering heart of Willmar, and her meekness humbles the arrogance of her conceited fine-lady cousin.

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The play of "The Uncle" has been, according to Mrs. Jameson, the most successful of all the dramas of the Princess.

"The causes of its success," she remarks, "lie deep in the peculiar habits and sympathies of the German character; it is, in fact, the most essentially *German* of all these comedies, the one least likely to be understood in England. Some of those scenes which I remember to have been most effective on the stage, would not be comprehended by any English audience; would appear perhaps flat in effect and puerile in sentiment,—perhaps provoke a smile, where feelings of a very opposite nature would be excited in Germany. We are in England almost as much the slaves of certain arbitrary associations as the French themselves, while the Germans are less subjected to the influence of conventional ridicule than any people among whom I have lived. To make an old bachelor, a physician, a recluse philosopher, who feeds birds and dries butterflies, the serious hero and lover of the drama, is an idea which certainly would not have entered into the mind of any common playwright. Yet this original conception has been here most happily executed, without the slightest violation of nature or probability, as far as German manners or feelings are concerned. Dr. Löwe, with his personal negligence and mental refinement, his childlike simplicity and moral grandeur, in the beautiful blending of homeliness, sentiment, humor, and pathos, is one of the happiest and most perfect delineations I have met with in the German modern drama."

The remarks above cited are generally true; but a correct appreciation of such a character as that of Dr. Löwe is not so exclusively confined to Germany as Mrs. Jameson seems to suppose. We have no idea what would be its effect upon the English or American stage; and that is a matter of small importance. The English and American stage is now too degraded to be taken into the account in any estimate of literary merit. The leading purpose of dramatic literature at the present day,—so far as concerns England and the United States,—is to supply amusing and instructive reading, by furnishing animated pictures of life and representations of the passions, brought out with more vivacity than belongs to the nature of other forms of literary composition. Tried by this standard, the character of Dr. Löwe will excite as much sympathy among English and American as it can among German readers.

The play of "The Uncle" has several other characters as well drawn in their way as the hero. Madame von Stürmer,

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the *malade imaginaire* is extremely amusing; and the doctor's prescriptions for her case are worthy of the best attention of the Faculty. The effect of the interview with Anna, upon the bachelor Doctor, is very well hit off in the following passage.

"MARTIN (*alone*).

"I wish I could find out what in the name of wonder has possessed my master: he is quite transmogrified, as it were—quite rebellious! First he abuses me when I tell him of the colonel's arrival; then he sets off to him, humming a tune as he goes along the streets; then, when he comes home, he locks himself up in his study, writes a letter, and gives it to Rosine to take, and not to me. I begin to be afeard it 's not all right; suppose he were to get crazed in his old age,—O Lord! O Lord!

Enter LÖWE.

LÖWE.

Martin, I have been talking to the Kreigsrath Lindner. I have spoken to Caroline, and I am happier than words can express!

MARTIN.

How so, your honor?

LÖWE.

Caroline,—only think, Martin,—she is betrothed!—'t was as if a millstone had fallen from my heart when I heard it.

MARTIN.

How so, your honor?

LÖWE.

Ah! I remember me you know nothing about it. (*Aside.*) Now I have the means of soothing Julius, if he should be vexed with his uncle's marriage; but he shall know nothing of his happiness yet,—I will surprise him. (*Aloud.*) Martin, what I have just told you is between ourselves.

MARTIN.

Why, your honor has told me nothing yet!

LÖWE (*looking round*).

This room is in horrible disorder, Martin.

MARTIN.

It is just as it always is.

LÖWE.

Every thing covered with dust.

MARTIN.

And yet it is swept every Easter and every Michaelmas.

LÖWE.

I 'll have it swept every day; people are coming in from

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time to time, and it 's scandalous to see the dust flying in their faces. (*Looking round again.*) What a household! the book-cases empty, the books lying about on tables and chairs ——

MARTIN (*sulkily*).

I'm not to meddle with them.

LÖWE.

No, not you, — certainly ; I 'll put them in their places myself.

MARTIN (*aside, shaking his head*).

He 's a going to die ! *

LÖWE.

Martin !

MARTIN.

Sir !

LÖWE.

This Madame von Stürmer, whom I have just taken under my care, will give me a good deal of trouble.

MARTIN.

That 's the lady that sent the pretty maid here this morning ?

LÖWE.

The maid happens to be a young lady, and her daughter.

MARTIN.

A lady ! and I treated her just as my equal ! † but it 's not my fault, however. If she 's a lady, why doesn't she dress like one, — more reasonable like ?

LÖWE.

The dress makes the woman and the man too, — eh, Martin ? Ay, it 's inconceivable what effect dress has, even on the most rational people. I think I might dress better myself.

MARTIN (*frightened*).

Pray, sir, — I hope you won't begin to think of such a thing !

LÖWE.

And why not ?

MARTIN.

At your years !

LÖWE.

Why, I am not such an old man, Martin.

MARTIN.

But we are no longer young, your honor.

"* It is a German, as well as an Irish and a Scotch superstition, that any sudden and unaccountable change in the manners and disposition is the certain prelude of death."

"† Martin remembers with consternation that he had used the wrong pronoun when addressing her: Ein Fräulein! und ich habe sie par "höre Sie" tractirt!"

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LÖWE.

How? — *we!* — you talk as if we were nearly of the same age.

MARTIN.

Why, when I first attended on you at the university, we were both hearty young fellows.

LÖWE.

Ay, but I was eighteen, and you forty.

MARTIN.

Only nine-and-thirty, your honor.

LÖWE.

And I shall be eight-and-thirty in September.

MARTIN.

As your honor pleases.

LÖWE.

Martin, I shall go to that tailor who keeps all kinds of fashionable clothes ready made, and I 'll choose myself a new coat.

MARTIN.

Then you 'll look just like a wasp.

LÖWE.

No, no, — no such thing: he has coats fit for rational people to wear.

MARTIN (*aside*).

If I could only conjure him out of this paroxysm! (*Aloud.*) Have you been to the church-yard to-day, sir?

LÖWE.

To the church-yard?—no.

MARTIN.

Then you 'll go this evening?

LÖWE.

I don't think I will.

MARTIN.

The weather 's cleared up, sir.

LÖWE.

Glad of it; but I feel as if, — and yet what should hinder me? (*Aside.*) My good Marie! she too would rejoice if she knew how happy I am going to be. Shall I therefore forget *her*? O no, never!

MARTIN.

My dear master, either you are ill, or there is something on your mind that you can't get over.

LÖWE.

Why, there *is* something on my mind, Martin, if you will know it, — something, — but you must not laugh at me, Martin! What would you say if I ——

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MARTIN.

Well, sir ?

LÖWE.

If now, for instance, I ——

MARTIN.

If what ?

LÖWE.

If — I — should ——

MARTIN.

If you should ?——

LÖWE.

If I — you see — if I should marry — a wife ! ——

MARTIN (*in terror*).

The Lord in heaven shield you !

LÖWE (*angrily*).

The Lord might shield me from worse, I think."

— Vol. i. pp. 212–218.

The character of Anna, the beautiful English heiress, is very well drawn ; and the transfer of her affections from the young baron Julius, to his bachelor uncle, is managed with infinite skill. She had engaged herself to the former, from mere kindness of heart and the hope of making something worthy of her devotion out of the plausible, but unsteady young scapegrace ; but when she came in contact with solid merit, like that of the doctor, these flimsy grounds of attachment gave way at once before the force of lofty principles, and a noble character. We finish reading the piece with a conviction that Julius will repent of his inconstancy to Caroline ; that the doctor will enjoy all the felicity he so richly merits ; and that Madame Stürmer's maladies are cured for ever. At least we hope, for the comfort of all parties, that such is her ladyship's case.

The characters and plot of " The Young Ward " are more peculiarly German than those of either play in Mrs. Jameson's first volume. The Countess von Werdenbach, a rich and noble widow, is intrusted with the care of Count Robert von Hallerfeld, an orphan. Ida von Grünau is her niece, a young girl whose school education is not yet completed. Hallerfeld's character is that of a romantic youth, who falls desperately in love with a woman much older than himself, that woman being his father's friend, his own benefactress. Salome, an old house servant, and Ida's nurse, and her uncle Baron von Grünau have set their hearts on a marriage between the young people ; but their excellent designs are for the time frustrated by discovering who is the real object of the young Baron's

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passion. Despairing of ever obtaining the forgiveness of the Countess, for his presumptuous hopes, Baron Robert determines to desert his *carrière*, travel into foreign parts, and lose, in the dissipations of Paris and London, the sense of his sufferings. The feelings of the enthusiastic young gentleman, with his heart bubbling over with what he fancies to be love for a woman some fifteen years older than himself, are described with great force and humor. The Countess resolves on a bold stratagem to save her young ward from ruin. She gives him reason to hope for the fulfilment of his wishes at some future day, when he shall have distinguished himself in the career he has begun ; at the same time she puts into his hands a sealed paper, which contains her justification, and is to be opened on the day of their formal betrothal. Of course, our young gentleman, having the best of reasons, — to wit, the mature conviction of a man of twenty, — to know that his passion for the Countess is an everlasting one, stands now upon the topmost round of human happiness, and resumes his diplomatic labors with extraordinary alacrity, after having cut a few capers, such as young gentlemen in his situation are wont to exhibit, and squeezing old Grünau almost to death in his frantic joy. Ida is sent off to a boarding school to finish her education, sorely against the will of uncle Grünau and the nurse ; and the Countess exposes herself consequently to the harsh and uncharitable constructions of her kindred and acquaintances. Affairs are now wound up into a pretty, very pretty entanglement ; the plot is a very good plot, and it begins to unravel itself about two years after. The following passage will give us some insight into the course of affairs during the interval.

" Ida (*entering*).

" It made me feel strangely to see him again. In the last two years he has grown more manly, — handsomer, I think. Fortunately, he did not know me ; for when I saw him standing there, — the man in office, — the secretary of legation, — and thought of all the childish nonsense of old times, I felt almost painfully confused, — but that will not be the case another time, when other people are by, and my aunt presents him to me formally. I know not when I was so pleased as at the idea of our breakfast to-day; a *bal champêtre* in the open air is something new, — for me at least. O, I will dance, — dance all day, every dance from beginning to end ! I feel so happy,

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and in such spirits! — it must be this beautiful weather, — of course.

Enter the COUNTESS.

COUNTESS.

All is in full activity in the garden, and I think I see some carriages coming over the hill yonder, — our guests probably; we shall have thirty people together in all.

IDA.

Has my uncle Grünau accepted your invitation?

COUNTESS.

I would wage any thing that uncle Grünau is the first to arrive. He brings Count Bibereck with him.

IDA.

O, I 'm *so* glad! I like that Count Bibereck.

COUNTESS (*smiling*).

Why, yes, he has always abundance of pretty things for a young lady's ear.

IDA.

O, it is not *that*; — but he amuses me, and besides —— (*she stops suddenly*).

COUNTESS.

I have invited him, to gratify Hallerfeld. They were schoolfellows, you know.

IDA.

Do you know, my dear aunt, that I have already seen Hallerfeld this morning?

COUNTESS.

Indeed! where did you see him?

IDA.

In the village, and before the door of old Margaret's house. I had persuaded her, for the first time, to venture into the open air; he stopped as soon as he saw me, and looked at me for some time without stirring; but he did not approach, nor did he speak. So I suppose he did not recognise me.

COUNTESS.

Probably not, for I doubt if he knows that you are here.

IDA.

Yes; I came from school, I remember, just as he was appointed *attaché* at Vienna; and you have not, I suppose, mentioned me in your letters to him?

COUNTESS.

Why, I do not think that during the whole year any particular good or evil fortune has befallen you, sufficient for the subject-matter of a letter.

IDA (*with a forced smile*).

I dare say he hardly recollects that I once lived under the same roof with him.

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COUNTESS.

So much the better, for it will be like making a new acquaintance to-day. Have you arranged your toilette?

IDA.

I intend to be dressed simply, — quite simply.

COUNTESS.

Simply, — yes; but with elegance and taste, I hope?

IDA.

O surely! and at this moment I cannot decide between two dresses, — the white and the blue.

COUNTESS.

Choose then, for my sake, the one that is most becoming. I wish you to appear to advantage to-day, — you understand!

IDA.

O trust me for that! you know, dear aunt, I am not vainer than is absolutely necessary: but at a ball, and a ball by daylight, one would not be the worst looking. (*She goes to the door and returns.*) Don't you think, aunt, it would be best to wear the white dress? it is *sans prétension*, and looks so fresh!

COUNTESS.

Yes, right! (*She goes towards the writing-table,— Ida going, stops, as meditating, and then turns back.*)

IDA.

On reflection, dear aunt, I think, after all, the blue is the prettiest.

COUNTESS.

Dress yourself as you please, my love. (*Ida goes out, — the Countess seats herself at her writing-table, opens a small writing-case, and takes out a parcel of letters.*) His letters to me during the last twelvemonth, — truly a respectable collection. Let us see, — (*she opens two or three,*) — July, last year, four pages, — five, — six pages, — 'Most beloved of human beings!' — *etcetera*. In December two pages, — three, — "My dearest Countess,' and so forth. In April this year, so, — one page, — 'Ever honored friend!' — ah, April was a bad month, it seems! But what have we here? — alas! worse, — in June last, — half a page, — business, — want of time, — and 'My dear madam!' — O men, men! — but is it your fault if the enthusiasm to which you give the name of love does not last for ever? Ought we not even to be thankful when such feelings subside into calm friendship, and not into absolute indifference?" — Vol. II. pp. 90 – 95.

The amount of it is that Hallerfeld has found out that his eternal love lasted considerably less than two years, — precisely what the Countess had the good sense to anticipate; and that he has fallen in love with the Countess Ida, — and

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that, too, is what was anticipated and desired. Arrangements, however, are making for a festival, which the Countess gives Hallerfeld to understand is to end in the betrothal. The conflict in the young man's mind between feeling and honor, between love and duty, is well managed; honor and duty maintain their ground, and he is resolved to devote his future life to the happiness of the woman whom he once so passionately loved, and now so deeply reverences. But "all 's well that ends well;" the Baron's good intentions are rewarded by the possession of Ida's hand; the sealed paper explains every thing, and everybody is as happy as happy can be.

There is much grace and delicacy in the delineations of character in this piece. The Countess-widow is beautifully drawn, and the young Baron is true, not merely to German, but to universal nature. The conception of such a character shows a deeper insight into the springs of human feeling than is common among princes, — or other people either. Old Grünau, the fidgetty, self-willed, gossipping uncle, has, we are sorry to say it, many counterparts among the bachelor uncles of other countries besides Germany.

"The Princely Bride" is a play that moves in a different sphere of German life. Its characters are royal personages and their attendants; and it may be expected that they will be delineated with even more truth and fidelity than those drawn from common life. Upon this point we cannot speak with confidence, as we are but plain republicans, and know but little of courts and courtly people. Mrs. Jameson says;

"Never perhaps was a courtly group sketched off with such finished delicacy, such life-like truth; such perfect knowledge of, and command over the materials employed. We have no other instance, I think, of the portrait of a princess delineated by the hand of a princess, and informed with sentiments and feelings drawn possibly from her own nature, or at least suggested by her own position. It is easy to conceive that one cause of this drama not being oftener performed is the very truth of the picture it represents. I have been told that at the Burg Theatre at Vienna, it was set aside, because it was not thought decorous to exhibit all the details of a modern court upon the stage; and, as almost all the theatres of Germany are attached to the court of some sovereign prince, and form a part of his state establishment, subject to his pleasure, the same feeling may have prevailed elsewhere."

However this may be, the character of the "Princely

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Bride " is one of the most interesting in the whole range of these dramas. The portrait is most delicately finished, and the effect delightful. A marriage has been arranged between her and a young neighbouring German prince, by the usual diplomatic formalities, in such cases made and provided. The prince, however, under the disguise of an assumed name, has had an interview with a person whom he supposes to be his future bride ; and, under this idea, he has carried on a correspondence with her, which deepens the impression her personal charms have already made. When she is conducted to his capital, he is, of course, in a flutter of joyful expectation ; and his astonishment and dismay, when he becomes aware of the fatal mistake, form what may be called the distress of the piece. Under these embarrassing circumstances, the gentleness and nobleness of the heroine are conspicuously brought out. The character is one which could only be drawn by a woman ; the minute and delicate traits, the mingled sweetness and strength, the devoted love, and the martyr-like readiness to sacrifice herself for the happiness of others, as they belong eminently to the character of woman in its noblest form, so they require the graceful hand of woman to portray them as they should be portrayed. There are many scenes in this delightful drama, that deserve to be quoted. Still the effect of the piece depends, in a peculiar degree, upon reading the whole together ; and we would rather send our readers to the book, than do the principal character an injustice by presenting it in a partial and imperfect light.

The last play translated by Mrs. Jameson is " Der Landwirth," *The Farmer*, to whom she has given the title of " The Country Cousin." There is great spirit and vivacity in the scenes of this piece ; much variety in the characters ; and a great deal of humor. Young Edward von Thürmer, the gay and fashionable heir, is finely contrasted with the noble qualities of his cousin Rudolph, who has been brought up amidst the employments of a farm. Dame Beatrice is an excellent fussy manager, — a notable housewife, — such, alas ! as this degenerate age has but few to boast of. The plot of the drama may be stated in a few words. The old Baron von Thürmer has wrongfully possessed himself of an estate which should have gone to his elder brother, the father of Rudolph. The latter is, therefore, educated in the country, and after a fashion suitable to his supposed condition. The growth and developement of his moral and intellectual nature, amidst

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the influences of a quiet country life, are finely shadowed forth by the incidents of the drama. Edward is educated like a young man of fashion, the heir to the estates and titles of the old Baron. He visits Prague, to become acquainted with the Count von Leistenfeld, his father's early friend, and the *Count's daughter, his own destined bride.* But being a somewhat imaginative, sentimental, and self-conceited personage, he takes the whim into his head to appear under the name and character of his country cousin, and attempts to excite the young Countess's interest by playing the melancholy poor gentleman; and to a certain extent succeeds. All this is quite delightful; and he has returned, when our drama opens, with the pleasing conviction that his future bride loves him for himself alone. The old Count and his daughter make a visit to the country seat of the Baron von Thürmer, partly for the purpose of concluding the matrimonial arrangements already begun by the old people, and so happily seconded by Edward, as he supposes, during his visit *incog.* to Prague. An accident, however, brings the young Countess and the rustic Rudolph acquainted, neither knowing who the other may be. The prospect of the approaching visit compels Edward to let his father into the masquerade he had been playing during his travels. The old gentleman calls him a fool, — as indeed he was, — but finally consents to continue the farce a little longer, warning his son, however, that the event might be somewhat different from his anticipations. When Rudolph visits the castle, he is of course mistaken by the Count and Countess for the veritable Edward; and the young lady is not in the least sorry to discover in the unknown but agreeable and handsome young man, with whom she had conversed in the morning, her destined husband.

But before making her final answer to the suit, — before giving the irrevocable *Jawort*, she determines to subject his integrity to a trying test. She has become possessed of the evidence of the old Baron's fraudulent dealings with his nephew; this evidence she is resolved to lay before the supposed Edward, and if he will at once renounce his father's ill-gotten wealth in favor of the injured Rudolph, then to accept his hand. The decisive moment arrives; the fatal paper is put into her rural lover's hands, and to her infinite disappointment, when the first surprise is past, he thrusts the document into the fire, and it is reduced to ashes. Of course, she is indignant and wretched; but when the truth is

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known, and she finds that it is Rudolph himself, who has burnt the only remaining evidence of his right to the Thürmer estates and title, and all this to shield his uncle from dishonor, her admiration knows no bounds, and she surrenders her heart at once and for ever. Poor Edward must wear the willow with what grace he may. He has merely excited her compassion, — touched her fancy a little, it may be, — by his melancholy airs at Prague under the assumed character of his cousin. But the end shows that he has completely overshot his mark, and Rudolph is rewarded with the happiness which his noble and disinterested conduct so richly merited.

We have thus given some account of those plays of the Princess Amelia, which Mrs. Jameson has translated. They are only a small specimen of the whole ; a pretty fair specimen, it is true, but not the most entertaining part. The translation is executed with spirit, and generally with fidelity to the original ; and the English is marked by the purity and sprightliness, which characterize Mrs. Jameson's other writings. But the numerous idiomatic terms of the original are not always faithfully rendered. Mrs. Jameson has frequently substituted a comparatively tame periphrasis or vague generality, for a popular proverb or pithy saying of the original. It is true, that the English language does not always afford an exact equivalent for such proverbs and sayings ; but a little care will, in nine cases out of ten, enable a translator to find something very near them. The trouble seems to be, that English writers are terribly afraid of being vulgar, and look with suspicion upon all expressions, which smack of the popular mind. The consequence is, that a large number of pithy turns of speech lie unemployed, except in the conversation of the people ; and the force and picturesqueness of English style lose materially by this false gentility.

No one, we think, can read the plays of the Saxon Princess, without feeling a profound respect for the fine qualities of her heart, and the brilliant powers of her mind. Her sympathies far transcend the lines of the courtly circle around her ; she comprehends and loves the great and good qualities of her countrymen, and knows how to portray them with marvellous skill. She sees perfectly well the foibles of men and women, but looks upon them with an indulgent eye. The passions of youth and the vices of manhood and age are not unknown to her keenly observant spirit, and have not escaped her good-humored satire. It is quite amusing to see how often she laughs at the vagaries of young men and women, which they are pleased

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to denominate love; how often, in her plays, people begin by being desperately enamoured of one person, and end by marrying another. Willmar, in "Falsehood and Truth," thinks himself incurably in love with Juliana, but forms a happy marriage with Frederica. Dr. Löwe remains faithful some eighteen years to the memory of his Marie, and then suddenly surrenders his heart to Anna, who as suddenly breaks off from her lover, the young Baron, who on his part has deserted his first love, Caroline, to whom he again returns. Hallerfeld at one time thinks life not worth the having, unless he can marry the Countess Werdenbach, and a year or two after finds there is no happiness but in marriage with Ida. In "The Princely Bride," the prince at dinner is in despair for the love of Matilda, but before seven o'clock, the well-being of his whole life depends on marrying the princess; Matilda, too, gets over her fancy for the prince in the course of the day, and gives her hand to Major von Sollau. In the "Landwirth," Marie von Leistenfeld is one day half in love with Edward von Thürmer, and the next wholly so with Rudolph, whom she marries. In "Der Verlobung's-Ring," *The Betrothal Ring*, (by the by, one of the best pieces in the whole collection, and as well worth translating as any Mrs. Jameson has selected,) Francisca von Falkenberg is betrothed to the Count von Wildenhain, but has had her head completely turned by reading, to the great vexation of the old gentleman her father. She falls desperately in love with her cousin, Adolph, who has risked his neck to recover her lost scarf, and held it next his heart, and thus won *her* heart from the staider and more rational bridegroom; but when he, like a man of sense, sets her at liberty, and no obstacle stands in the way of her marriage with her gallant cousin, presto, the delusion vanishes, the young lovers become tired of each other, and she sighs for Wildenhain again, and marries him.

The same thing comes up in one form or another in several more of these dramas. In fact, it seems as if the Princess were aiming constantly to guard the young against the delusions of passion and imagination. She has undoubtedly exaggerated the whimsical freaks and sudden turnings of what boys and girls take to be everlasting attachment; but there is a basis of truth in her representations, and a great deal of wisdom in the lesson she indirectly inculcates. Her men are not, generally, so well drawn as her women. They all are the creations of a female mind, and have a vein of womanishness in their characters, that betrays their origin

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to the masculine eye. It is said, too, that her pictures of German society are sometimes unnatural and perhaps impossible; this may to some extent be true. There are many traits of common life, that must, of necessity, escape the observation of a royal personage, however keen and vigilant; but we think she approaches, even in this respect, as near to the truth of nature as any other dramatist who has aimed at painting contemporary manners. The truth is, the drama is not, never was, and never can be, a very exact transcript of the details of common social life. But no one, at all familiar with German literature, will hesitate, we think, to say, that these pieces are true to the essential spirit of the German character; that they faithfully represent its honest-heartedness, its romantic and poetical cast of thought, its love of simple nature, and its freedom from conventional sentiment and manners. The language, — the German style, — is admitted, on all hands, to be elegant, descriptive, and pure. It abounds, as we said before, in national idioms; but it is an excellent model of the conversational style among the best educated classes. Some of the female characters in these dramas are among the most exquisite creations of Poetry. No reader of sensibility can ever forget the mild beauties of Frederica; the gentle and affectionate and trustful spirit of the Hedwig, in "Der Pflegevater"; the simple, but noble and high-hearted Dorothea, in "Das Fräulein vom Lande"; or the magnanimity of the "Princely Bride." They are all characters, who stand forth in our memory as lovely impersonations of all that is at once human and angelic in woman; as realizing the dreams of poetry, but not transcending the possibilities of earthly life. Of each of them, we may say with the philosophical poet;

> "I saw her upon nearer view,
> A spirit, yet a woman too!
> Her household motions light and free,
> And steps of virgin liberty;
> A countenance in which did meet
> Sweet records, promises as sweet;
> A creature not too bright and good
> For human nature's daily food.
>
> * * * *
>
> A perfect woman, nobly planned
> To warn, to comfort, and command;
> And yet a spirit still, and bright
> With something of an angel light."

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Art. XI. — CRITICAL NOTICES.

1. — *A Greek Reader, for the Use of Schools; containing Selections in Prose and Poetry, with English Notes and a Lexicon. Adapted particularly to the Greek Grammar of E. A. Sophocles, A. M.* By C. C. Felton, A. M., Eliot Professor of Greek Literature in Harvard University. Hartford, Conn.: H. Huntington, Jr. 12mo. pp. 442.

One cannot help being struck, in looking over the pages of this book, with the difference between the standards of American scholarship now, and in the days removed from us by only one generation. Forty years ago, a boy who had studied the New Testament in the original, had read Greek enough to secure his admission into any of our colleges. The first advance was made at Cambridge, we believe, by requiring an additional examination in Dalzel's "Collectanea Minora"; for which, in 1824, Professor Everett's edition of Jacobs's "Greek Reader" was substituted; the Four Gospels, by a further change, taking the place of the whole of the New Testament. And now, as the Cambridge Catalogue just published informs us, Jacobs is to be dropped, and Professor Felton's "Reader" adopted in its place. Thus has the amount of study requisite for admission into that University been virtually doubled three times within the last half century. And we catch no hint of a disposition to stop here; but we venture to hope, in view of the merits of the book before us, that further advances, for a long time at least, will be made by addition, and not by substitution.

We cannot regret, on the whole, that the old "Greek Reader" is likely to be supplanted in the public favor. However superior in some respects that selection may have been to the manuals it superseded, we think we can see many reasons, besides the propriety of increasing the amount of classical study in the schools, for giving it up in favor of Professor Felton's compilation. For not only will a boy on entering college, after being drilled in the new book, know about twice as much Greek as under the former arrangement, but his knowledge will be drawn from much purer sources. In this lies its great superiority over the "Reader" of Jacobs. Instead of filling up his pages with extracts from Plutarch, and other writers who lived centuries after

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the most flourishing period of Grecian literature, Professor Felton has with great judgment and taste well nigh confined his selections to early writers who are models of style in their respective departments. Xenophon, Thucydides, Herodotus, and Lysias, we doubt not, will on all hands be allowed to have been purer writers, and better authority for the classical use of the Greek language, than Strabo and Plutarch. And from those four authors, more than half of the text of the new manual is taken. The pseudo-Æsop and Lucian are happily chosen as adequate representatives of the later writers. The selections in verse are equally judicious. None of them will present very serious difficulties to the learner, and yet the poetical literature of Greece hardly affords brighter gems. It was the editor's aim to give an adequate specimen from each important department; and here also the new has a decided superiority over the old "Greek Reader," in which only a few epic verses were given. Homer, Anacreon, Sappho, Simonides, Callistratus, Euripides, Aristophanes, and Moschus, all contribute something to these pages.

The extracts are illustrated by a sufficiently large body of notes, in which we are glad to see that Professor Felton gives in to none of the fashionable extravagances of the day. He takes it for granted, that the boy into whose hands his book is to come, will know something; and accordingly does not consider it necessary to proffer his aid on all occasions. And we cannot but think him entirely right in this respect. If a boy always receives assistance, how is he ever to learn the great art of teaching himself? He ought to be left to his own resources, wherever he can by ordinary diligence master the difficulties of his author. But, in the virtual assumption that those for whom he writes are beyond the need of many explanations, Professor Felton is also careful to avoid the mistake of supposing a greater proficiency than the truth would be likely to warrant.

The notes upon each extract are preceded by a biographical sketch of its author, conveying in an easy and attractive style a great amount of information. Thus notice is taken of all the valuable results which modern criticism has arrived at, when employed upon the Æsopic fables and Homeric poems. And all is told with so much simplicity and clearness, as to be brought within the comprehension of boys of moderate capacity on the lowest forms. A vocabulary, which supersedes the necessity of purchasing a separate lexicon, is appended. Besides such definitions as belong to the dif-

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ferent words in their places in the text, secondary cases and tenses are given; and, what is of hardly less value, compound and derived words are referred to their roots, which are also accompanied by translations.

If we have seemed to speak unfavorably of the "Greek Reader" of Jacobs in what precedes, we conceive that we have merely discharged a duty to Professor Felton, and to the public, in entering upon a comparison from which but one verdict could result. In an age distinguished by the multiplication of school-books beyond all precedent, one who puts forth a new one can hardly be justified, unless a decided case of inadequateness is made out against that formerly in use. And we have thought it right to say thus much in commendation of the new "Greek Reader," both because we esteem it a book of great merit, as well as calculated to supply an important demand in the literary market, and because we hold that no real service of this kind should go without its acknowledgment. When a finished scholar thus foregoes for a period the enjoyment of the most fascinating studies, to toil through the drudgery of correcting Greek proof-sheets, and writing notes which require the most painful accuracy, we think it right that those, whose school and college days are over, should know the result, and feel to whom are due some of their greatest obligations in the matter of educating their children.

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2. — *Discourse on the Objects and Importance of the National Institution for the Promotion of Science, established at Washington, 1840, delivered at the First Anniversary.* By Joel R. Poinsett, Secretary of War, and Senior Director of the Institution. Washington: P. Force, Printer. 1841. 8vo. pp. 52.

Mr. Poinsett's Discourse comprises a plain and sensible statement of the objects of the new institution at Washington, and a consideration of their practicability and importance. He manifests an intimate acquaintance with the theory and present condition of all the leading branches of science, and, in a style remarkable for chasteness, simplicity, and force, he advocates the methodical cultivation of them by a society, which, established at the seat of government, and fostered by the federal authorities, shall have good claim to be considered as a national institution. Like many other observers of the condition of

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this country, and the nature of its government, he has a deep sense of the advantages, which would accrue to scientific research and literary effort, if we possessed a metropolis, which should perform the same office for us, that is rendered by the great capitals of Europe to their respective states, by concentrating the action of individuals, and affording combined means and facilities for the advancement of learning. Mr. Poinsett argues further, in support of the feasibility and importance of the Society's design, that some branches of knowledge cannot be cultivated and rendered extensively useful without aid from the government. If our navigators are ever to be freed from their present dependence on European science, it can only be by the establishment of an observatory, which shall belong to the nation, and by the calculation of *Ephemerides*, which shall be published under the sanction of the national executive. In respect to geography, also, though the individual states may construct maps of their own territories, yet without a common centre, whence uniform plans and instructions may be issued, these maps will be laid down on different projections, and executed with various degrees of accuracy, so that the aggregate of them will be far from presenting a correct hydrographical view of the country.

The objects of the founders of the National Institution are deserving of all praise, but we fear that the attainment of them will be found beyond the means of the society itself, and that the patronage of government will prove a slender resource. A city cannot be rendered the scientific and literary metropolis of a whole nation, by merely constituting it the seat of political government. The situation of Washington and the character of its population are most unfavorable to the calm pursuits of science. It is a sort of vast hotel, which everybody visits, but where nobody is at home. Eminent men are called thither every year, from all parts of the Union, but their errand is a political one, and if they have any predilection for scientific pursuits, it must be merged for the time in the dust and turmoil of their public career. Nor is the case far different with those functionaries, whose stay at the capital is determined by their connexion with the executive departments. These, also, are birds of passage, though their periods of migration, instead of being limited to a year, may extend through a Presidential term. Mr. Poinsett himself is an eminent instance to prove that an ardent love of science is not incompatible with the faithful discharge of high official duties. But we find even him expressing regret, that the calls of the Institution upon him require "more leisure than I now enjoy."

We hazard these remarks, because, from the title which the

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Society has assumed, and from several passages in the Address before us, we suppose the hope exists, that the income of Mr. Smithson's bequest may be applied by Congress to the support of the "National Institution." Aided by this fund, and by their connexion with the general government, the directors expect that their association may in time assume a character and functions similar to those of the French Institute. But we fear the difficulties already hinted at are more than sufficient to defeat such an ambitious plan. Paris is in every sense, not merely the political capital, but the very heart of France. No city in this country can ever attain a corresponding station and influence, and Washington is, perhaps, the least likely of all to acquire such preëminence. Besides, the fund in question, if, indeed, it is now in existence, is altogether too small for such a magnificent scheme; and the parsimony of Congress in relation to such objects will not justify the expectation of further aid, even if there were no constitutional difficulties in the way. No proposal for the employment of this fund, as it seems to us, offers results of such certain utility, as the one sanctioned by the opinion of Mr. Adams. We ardently hope, that the remaining years of this venerable statesman's career may be gladdened by the accomplishment of the object, which he has so long had in view, the establishment of a National Observatory.

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3. — *Outline of a System of Legislation, for securing Protection to the Aboriginal Inhabitants of all Countries colonized by Great Britain. Drawn up at the Request of the Committee of "The Aborigines Protection Society," for the purpose of being laid before the Government.* By Standish Motte, Esq., a Member of the Committee. London: John Murray. 1840. 8vo. pp. 32.

English philanthropy has been accused at times, and not without some reason, of pursuing comprehensive, far-reaching, but somewhat indefinite plans for the general improvement of mankind in all quarters of the globe, while more direct and efficient schemes of practical benevolence at home were allowed to languish from the want of patronage. The Bible Society has expended millions in translating and circulating the Scriptures among distant tribes and nations, while a large portion of England's own manufacturing population is desti-

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tute, or nearly so, of the means of religious instruction. The gigantic efforts of the government and the people, during nearly half a century, to put a stop to the slave trade, have resulted in the mortifying admission, made during the past year by the principal agents in the cause, that the abominable traffic is now carried on to a greater extent than ever, and that there is too good reason to believe, that the business has received an impulse from some of the very measures that were contrived for its suppression. One of the hardest things in the world for individuals or communities to learn, is, to be judiciously and serviceably benevolent.

These remarks have been suggested by the perusal of the pamphlet, the title of which is given above. It appears, that about four years since, a society was established in London, for the purpose of protecting against the aggressions and injustice of civilized man, not merely the aborigines, amounting to about one million, who may be said to be under British protection, but also about two hundred and eighty millions, natives of Asia, Africa, and America, who have no connexion with England whatever. And at this early period, when little or no progress has been made, so far as we can gather from this pamphlet, in collecting distinct statements of facts, or in making inquiries from persons living on the very scene of contemplated operations, the Society put forth a general scheme of legislation for the protection of savages against the cruelty and rapacity of white men, — equally applicable to Canada, the Cape of Good Hope, New Holland, and the Islands in the Pacific Sea. The enactments proposed are as vague and impracticable, as might be expected in a project drawn up under such circumstances. Many of the excellent judicial and municipal institutions of Great Britain are to be transported at once to the forests of Canada, the sands of Africa, and the bushes of New Holland, there to be managed and kept in force by unbreeched savages. For instance, the natives are to be allowed to hold real and personal property, and to dispose of the same by will and transfer, the written instruments being duly registered in proper form, and in certain cases to be free from the stamp tax. The local administration of justice is to be left with the chiefs, who shall have power to empannel "a jury or court of not less than seven natives, of which the verdict of a majority shall be in all cases binding;" and with a view to protect them from injuries from each other, as well as from the colonists, "a certain number of the aborigines shall be trained as a constabulary force." It would certainly be worth while to see an empanneled jury of Hottentots, fresh from the bush, or a company of New Hollanders, with fishbones through their noses, acting as special constables.

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Far be it from us, to throw ridicule or discouragement on any scheme of rational philanthropy. But the generous spirit of individuals ought to be turned away from the wild schemes of notoriety-seeking projectors, or the inevitable disappointment of their hopes will do much to dry up the very springs of benevolence. It seems to be ordered, by a law as fixed as that of gravitation, that savage tribes shall retire and waste away before the incoming tide of civilization. The philanthropist may grieve at the immediate suffering which is thus occasioned, though he cannot but rejoice at the ultimate result. The injustice and rapacity of the new comers may increase the hardships of the natives' lot, and unnecessarily hasten their final extinction. But were the acts of the colonists regulated by the most just and tender regard for the rights of the aborigines, we cannot believe that the end would be long postponed. The native population would still dwindle away, from causes, that human wisdom cannot detect or appreciate. Positive legislation can do little or nothing to stay the evil, if it must be called one. Legal enactments are not easily enforced in new settlements, except so far as regards the intercourse of the colonists with each other, where self-interest is the powerful teacher of regard to law. The pioneers of civilization, the tamers of forests and the settlers of islands at the Antipodes, are naturally of a rugged and daring character, and the difficulties of their situation cannot tend to soften their nature. The only effectual way of preserving the natives from the superiority of the arms, or the contamination of the vices, of the settlers, is by preventing the two races from coming into immediate contact. By removing the savages to an allotted district, as remote as possible from the colonized spot, the race may be preserved, at least, for a time. This policy, as we learn from the pamphlet before us, has been adopted by the British authorities in Australia. "The whole of the aboriginal inhabitants of Van Dieman's Land, excepting four persons, are now domiciliated, with their own consent, on Flinder's Island."

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4. — *A New Spanish Grammar, adapted to every Class of Learners.* By Mariano Cubí i Soler. Sixth Edition, with corrections and improvements. Baltimore : Fielding Lucas, Jr. 1840. 12mo. pp. 294.

The author of this work has been long and favorably known by his literary labors ; first, as a Grammarian, and a most

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zealous and successful teacher of his native tongue, and afterwards as the founder and editor of the "Revista Cubana," a periodical, published in Havana, and conducted with great ability, though its career was short. Mr. Cubí is now Professor of Modern Languages in the College of Louisiana, where he enjoys the reputation, which his character, talents, and experience as an instructor so well deserve.

We are happy to see that Mr. Cubí's Grammar has met with such success, as to have reached, in so few years, a sixth edition. It is one of the best Spanish Grammars in use; and is alike remarkable for correctness, perspicuity, and completeness. In the Preface to the fifth edition, the author says, that his work "has undergone corrections and improvements, successively, for the last fourteen years;" and again, in the Advertisement to the present edition;

"He has endeavoured to make, at each successive edition of his work, as many corrections and improvements, as experience and a better acquaintance with the comparative genius and grammar of the English and Spanish Languages would enable him advantageously to introduce. It is fondly anticipated, therefore, that a comparison of the sixth edition of this grammar with the former ones, will show, that the unremitted attempts of the author at improvement have not been altogether unsuccessful."

We may add, that this assiduous care and repeated elaboration have produced a work of great value to the student of the Spanish language.

We observe that Mr. Cubí, in common with some other Spanish grammarians, uses certain forms of orthography, which, so far as we know, have not yet met with the sanction of the Spanish Academy, "quem penes arbitrium est, et jus et norma loquendi,"—at least assumed, if not conceded. For instance, the letter *x* has been entirely exploded, and its place supplied by *j*, when it has the sound of *jota*; by *s*, when it has the sound of *s*; and by *cs*, when its original sound is preserved. We like the change in the first two cases; but not in the last. Why substitute two letters for one? Why not retain *x* in all cases where the original sound of that letter is retained? Again, *j* is constantly used to express the guttural sound, to the exclusion of *ge* and *gi* even, though these forms were admitted in the former editions, and in one instance, at least, ("plugiera," &c., p. 103,) have escaped the author's correction in this. This change being a simplification of the orthography of the language, we think it an improvement; though we confess our eyes are not yet accustomed to "Jil Blas," p. 133. Nor are we fully satisfied with the substitution of *i* for *y*, conjunction; and its use also (in the diphthongs *ai*, *oi*, &c.) for *ay*, *oy*,

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&c., though Salvá very stoutly maintains in his "Grammática," (Paris, 1830,) that *y* should only be used as a consonant. We do not note down these changes in orthography as defects; but as peculiarities. Perhaps they will finally fight their way through all opposition, and become established forms. This, however, is a question to be decided by Spaniards themselves, and not by us. After all, these changes are so trifling, that neither teacher nor pupil could be for a moment embarrassed by them in using the Grammar. Mr. Cubí has discussed the subject in detail in an article entitled "Ortografia," in the second number of his "Revista Cubana."

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5. — *A Manual of Chemistry, on the Basis of Dr. Turner's Elements of Chemistry; containing, in a condensed form, all the most important Facts and Principles of the Science. Designed for a Text-Book in Colleges, and other Seminaries of Learning.* By John Johnston, A. M., Professor of Natural Science in the Wesleyan University. Middletown: Barnes & Saxe. 1840. 12mo. pp. 453.

This work, with the exception of occasional verbal alterations to adapt its parts to each other, is a reprint of such portions of the late Dr. Turner's "Elements of Chemistry," as were thought by the author suited to the wants of students in the higher order of literary institutions in this country, together with some valuable additions, not, however, of great amount, derived from other sources. No better work could have been selected, as the basis of a text-book on Chemistry, than that of Turner. With uncommon precision and elegance of language, it combines, in an unusual degree, the cardinal requisites of thorough research, sound judgment in the selection and arrangement of materials, great clearness of thought and expression, and an accurate and extensive knowledge of the subject. It is, however, too comprehensive, and embraces too great a variety of details, to be mastered in the limited time usually allotted to the science in our colleges, and Professor Johnston has done good service to the cause of education, by presenting to the public a selection of its more important parts, in a less bulky and expensive shape.

It will, perhaps, be regretted by some, that his additions are not more numerous. Since the publication of the fifth edition of "Turner's Chemistry," in the year 1834, many interesting disoveries have been made in the science; some of which, on

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account of their valuable practical applications, and others, on account of their important bearings upon certain new principles of chemical philosophy established within a few years, — such, for instance, as those of dimorphism and catalysis, — well deserve a place, even in the most elementary treatise. Professor Johnston has given an account of the new art of photogenic drawing, the processes of which were discovered by Daguerre; but he has made no mention of the scarcely less interesting and valuable art of electrography, or electrotype engraving, likewise of recent origin.

There is one mistake in the work, which the interests of truth and justice require to be corrected. We refer to the statement on page 102, in which Messrs. Cook and Davenport, of this country, are represented to have first constructed an electro-magnetic machine, capable of producing rotary motion. The invention was, without doubt, original in them; but they had been anticipated, both in this country and in Europe. Professor Henry, now of Princeton College, New Jersey, who has not had justice done to him in Europe for his invention, first contrived an instrument for generating motion, by means of an electro-magnet, and first applied the principle, which has been the basis of all subsequent attempts to use electro-magnetism as a motive power to propel machinery. Immediately after an account of Professor Henry's invention arrived in England, the late Professor Ritchie, of the University of London, by a modified application of the same principle, converted the reciprocating motion of the electro-magnet, obtained by Professor Henry, into one of rotation. Several electro-magnetic engines had been constructed in Europe before December, 1833, when, as it appears from a statement contained in Silliman's "Journal of Science," Mr. Davenport saw an electro-magnet for the first time. By far the most successful application of electro-magnetism, as a motive power, that has hitherto been made, is that of Professor Jacobi, of St. Petersburgh. By means of this agent he succeeded, in the year 1839, in propelling on the Neva a boat twenty-eight feet in length, and carrying fourteen persons, at the rate of about three miles an hour; a velocity, as he remarks, not much less than that of the first invented steamboat.

We would suggest to Professor Johnston the expediency of modifying, in a future edition, the principle by which he has been guided in the selection of his matter. It admits of great doubt, we think, whether, in reducing a comprehensive treatise on chemistry to a proper size for a text-book, it is judicious to attempt to "make the work true to the science, and present in true proportion all its important features." The science is of vast extent, and its different departments vary much in their

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relative importance, as objects of attention in a general education ; it is, therefore, by no means desirable for the sake of learners, that, in reducing its several parts, the same regard should be had to harmony of proportion, that would be indispensable in reducing the size of a picture, or of an architectural design. While the philosophy of chemistry, and those subjects, which derive interest and importance from their connexion with our physical well-being, or from their relations to the arts, or which throw light on the great operations of nature, should be brought forward quite prominently and fully, a description of that very numerous class of substances, which have little or no claim to attention from these considerations, and which are little known beyond the precincts of the laboratory, might be wholly omitted in a work designed for the young. We do not wish to convey the impression, that what we object to in the general plan of Professor Johnston's book is peculiar to him. All the text books on chemistry, recently published in this country, are, in a greater or less degree, liable to the same strictures.

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6. — 1. *Elements of Mental Philosophy, abridged, and designed as a Text-Book for Academies and High Schools.* By Thomas C. Upham, Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy in Bowdoin College. New York : Harper & Brothers. 12mo. pp. 430.

2. *A Philosophical and Practical Treatise on the Will, forming the Third Volume of a System of Mental Philosophy.* By Thomas C. Upham, Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy in Bowdoin College. New York : Harper & Brothers. 12mo. pp. 411.

We have already noticed Professor Upham's larger work on Mental Philosophy,* of which one of the volumes now before us contains an abstract, prepared for the use of schools, and of those persons, who wish to gain a general knowledge of the subject, but have not either the leisure or the inclination to plunge deeply into the "science of abstruse learning." The Abridgment is evidently executed with care, and from the writer's long experience in the use of his original work as a text-book, we may be sure, that he has selected such portions

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* See *North American Review*, Vol. LI. p. 240.

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of it for preservation in this single volume, as are best adapted to the taste and comprehension of youthful and imperfectly instructed readers. The work is founded almost entirely upon the writings of Locke, Reid, and Stewart, and the materials thus obtained have been fashioned with considerable skill into a connected treatise. Mr. Upham's style is lucid and correct, and his statement of the most important points of mental science, so far as it goes, shows marks of good sense and sound judgment. Teachers of youth, who wish to introduce the philosophy of mind into their course of instruction, will find in this work a safe and pleasant guide.

The phenomena of mind are considered by our author under the three divisions of the Intellect, the Sensibilities, and the Will. The volumes formerly published relate entirely to questions ranked under the two former heads, and the present treatise on the Will, therefore, is a natural complement of the previous publication, and forms the conclusion of Mr. Upham's plan. He has here grappled with a thorny subject, the difficulty of treating which in a satisfactory manner is not lessened by the consideration, that the giant mind of Jonathan Edwards had gone before him in the inquiry; and the edifice which he erected, it behoves a writer of the present day to examine with caution and respect. Our author has evidently studied the celebrated "Inquiry" with care, and has endeavoured to modify the conclusions of Edwards by some views of his own, and by bringing them in contact, as it were, with the labors of some metaphysicians and theologians of later date. If he has not accomplished much in this attempt, he may be consoled by remembering, that other and eminent men have failed before him. The question respecting the freedom of the will, and the compatibility of the doctrine of the Divine prescience with that freedom, has furnished, in all ages, matter of keen contention both to philosophers and divines, and we are not certain that the aggregate of their labor has thrown any material light on the subject. Sure we are, that the much lauded speculations on this topic, by the modern French and German schools, have resulted only in cutting the knot, rather than untying it, even where they do not evade the real difficulty altogether.

The fact, therefore, that Mr. Upham has obtained no new insight into this matter by his researches, is not mentioned by way of detracting from his merits. His work is written in a candid and unpretending manner, that invites perusal, and disarms criticism. The writer's peculiar theological opinions are visible in the work, but they give no undue bias to his judgment, and impart no acrimony to the conduct of the argument,

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or to the refutation of opposing theories. The careful arrangement of the subject, the clear statement of the points in dispute, and the abundance of illustrations, will make the work accessible to a larger class of readers, than are usually interested in metaphysical inquiries. If curiosity is rather incited, than gratified, by its perusal, we presume the author will by no means deem himself without reward for his trouble.

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7. — *Outlines of Anatomy and Physiology; translated from the French of* H. Milne Edwards, Doctor of Medicine, Professor of Natural History at the Royal College of Henry the Fourth, and at the Central School of Arts and Manufactures in Paris, by J. F. W. Lane, M. D. Boston: C. C. Little & J. Brown. 8vo. pp. 312.

This book is not designed chiefly for the medical profession, either pupils or adepts, but for those innocent persons who are too modest to read a real doctor's book, or who are scared by the hard words in which doctors are supposed to clothe their thoughts. Its purpose, however, is different from the "Physiology" of Dr. Coates, which was noticed in our last number, inasmuch as that is intended for the school-room, while this claims a place in the library or parlour. If some knowledge of the functions of living bodies is to constitute a part of a course of general education, and few will doubt that it should, then of course books must be prepared for the purpose; and such books will, according to their intrinsic value, possess their full share of utility. But we are not quite sure that such *expurgated* editions are really demanded for full grown men and women, in any of the departments of medical knowledge. Physicians will not read them; for besides the annoyance from frequent explanations of familiar terms, the knowledge they communicate, if not too superficial, is necessarily too general, to be of use to them. And as for others, they whose delicacy or morals are so fragile as to be endangered by legitimate scientific works, had better keep out of harm's way by shutting themselves up in a dark room, and not read at all; and the fear of technical phrases in any sensible medical book is a bugbear that will frighten nobody that has sense enough to read any thing.

Still, it must be acknowledged, that works on physiology are in fact little read, except by physicians. It might be supposed that educated men would acquire a knowledge of the phenomena of living bodies, at least equal to their knowledge of other

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branches of general science. But it is not so. Nothing is more common than to hear public speakers, clergymen, and lawyers, commit blunders in speaking of these subjects, of which they would be greatly ashamed in any other. It may be that a book like this will come advantageously to their aid. Written, as it is, expressly for their use, made attractive by its general appearance and style of execution, and avoiding all topics that can be supposed offensive to the most fastidious, it may obtain a reading, where other works on the subject have failed to secure attention.

It is certainly well adapted to its object. Although too general in its descriptions to answer well the purposes of the medical student, it is far from being a superficial work. It gives enough of anatomical delineation to furnish an outline of the general structure of the human body, and to render intelligible the explanations of the several functions. In doing this, the author addresses himself to intelligent educated persons generally, avoiding, on the one hand, that simplicity or poverty of language that is thought to be suited only to those whose education is in progress, and on the other either abstaining from or explaining such terms as are peculiar to medical men. The style is clear and intelligible. The English version, of which alone we speak, is good, pleasant reading, although, like most translations, the idiom of the original language occasionally appears in the structure of the sentences, and sometimes, though rarely, in the use of words. The translator would have done well, we think, to have rendered into English the terms of measure, instead of adopting the *metre*, and *litre*, with their compounds, of the original. It was all, and more than all, that even Napoleon in the height of his power could do, to compel the French nation to lay aside their accustomed designations of weight and measure, and adopt a new and greatly improved system. It is too much to expect us strangers to learn to understand them; and quite too much to suppose that casual readers will take the trouble to turn to the notes for a key to explain them, and then make a calculation of their value in each case. This is what the translator should have done for them. Besides, it gives a foreign air to the book, and every time it occurs, reminds the reader that he has but a translation before him.

After all, these are small blemishes. The translation is, on the whole, decidedly a good one; and the work itself abounds in sound instruction and useful information. The explanations of the several functions are, in general, in accordance with the opinions of the best physiologists; and in most instances they include the results of the latest discoveries and observations.

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This last circumstance is of more importance than would readily be believed by one who had given no attention to the subject. The phenomena of living bodies are produced by a combination of physical and chemical operations, with actions that are purely vital. It follows that discoveries in either of these branches of science, may have a direct bearing upon that of physiology, as well as those which are the direct result of researches upon the animal body itself. In all these departments of learning, investigations have been carried on with great activity and success, in the last few years. Those physicians whose reading is somewhat old, would be surprised to find how much they have to learn, of what is familiar to the more fresh investigation of the active inquirers of the profession. In this point of view the volume before us may be a valuable acquisition to some physicians. It gives a condensed view of the present state of physiological knowledge, which they may not have the leisure or the industry to obtain from more elaborate works, and in the correctness of which they may place a confidence not always due to extra-professional works.

The book is the more attractive, that the mechanical execution is excellent, vastly superior to that of most works of the sort issued from the press in this country, and compares well with the best specimens of American printing. The pictorial illustrations, which are numerous, are in the best style of wood-engraving; and the printing, paper, and binding, in short the whole execution, are such as to render it a comfort to the eye that reads it. We are grateful to every man that will help to sustain the art of printing among us, in these degenerate days of cheapness and consequent meanness of execution; and we shall be truly glad if both the publishers and the translator of this work find, in the sale of it, an ample remuneration for their enterprise and good taste.

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8. — *Sonnets*, by Sir John Hanmer, Baronet. London: Edward Moxon. 8vo. pp. 62.

The present age is called an unpoetical one; and if, by this, it is meant that there is a dearth of great poets, the saying is true enough. The soil was taxed too hard by the last generation not to be allowed to lie fallow, for half a century, at least. But in another sense, the age is far from being unpoetical, since the very elements of poetry enter more or less into every thing that comes from the press. Not a book of travels, an article of a periodical, a sermon, or a speech, but shows

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something of a poetic coloring; an active fancy, a quick sense of the beautiful, a care for rhetorical finish and verbal elegance, — in short, for those decorations of thought, the chief object of which is to please, and which often form a substitute for thought itself. In this general poetic illumination we may find in some measure the cause, as well as the compensation, for the deficiency of stars of the first magnitude.

The poems before us are fair specimens of the times. Without having any very marked physiognomy of their own, they are the product of a cultivated age. They could have been produced in no other. They are full of rich classical allusion, of images suggested by a familiarity with the arts and letters of ancient and modern Italy. Without any great depth of feeling, they show the natural sensibility of a cultivated mind to the beauties of outward nature, and to the monuments of human genius and taste. And if they have none of those curious felicities of expression which stick in the memory, when the book or the poem, in which they are found, is forgotten, they are full of that poetical expression, which enables the reader of taste to find much pleasure in the perusal, and we may add, what is not often the case, in the re-perusal of them. The sonnets range over a great variety of subjects, not always of the most promising kind for a poet to stumble upon. Such, for example, are those on a "Steamboat," the "Chartists," the "Ballot," and the like. Any peg, it seems, will serve to hang a sonnet on. We select the three following, as those which have pleased us as much as any, though not possessed of greater merit, perhaps, than some others in the collection.

"TO A PINE.

"Pine, whose green branches to my vernal song
Were as the coronal, gracing its close;
Now, forth his painted portals, Autumn goes
Over the woods, that will be bare ere long.
He leads them, reeling like a Thracian throng;
And each in turn his leafy chaplet throws
Down at his feet; only the Ilex knows
A spell superior to the enchanter strong.
He hath a hollow root, in which the mice
Dream out the winter, or some woodland bee;
Yet bravely doth his dusk head front the stars;
Through whose dread gates hath pass'd a century twice,
Since he was planted; flourish thus my tree,
And see a prosperous end of civil jars." — p. xxi.

"EVENING IN GERMANY.

"How each sharp hammer of the minster clock
Cuts off a point of time, until the bell,
Up-carolling to the clouds with silvery swell,
The sullen presage like a bird doth mock:

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But the day fleets, and the shadow of the rock
Falls opposite to where at morn it fell;
The bees come home, each to her angular cell;
Up to his hostel flies the roosting cock.
Now creep the beggars, some with misery pined
To dungeon-pits; some where the woodland yields
Small shelter, thinned for comfortable fires:
Some to lone huts, such as the shepherd builds
Under a bank, to shield him from the wind,
In an old tree set round with thorns and briars."—p. XL.

"THE SUPPRESSED CONVENT.

"The vine builds o'er the broken convent tower
God's architecture, hiding that of man;
The soft blue brook runs on as first it ran,
Fed by the mountain rills, the forest shower;
Gone is the Benedictine garb, and dower,
Marble, and pomp, and then amain began
Ruin, last phase of beauty; but the plan
That reared these walls outlasts the levelling hour.
To the fair city over Arno's side,
That when its lily on Arcetri smiles,
Doth celebrate the festival of St. John,
Might such still come as wont to fill these aisles.
The light from darkness in their thoughts divide,
And let the world, e'en as it will, go on." — p. XLVIII.

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9. — *The Practical Spelling-Book, with Reading Lessons.* By T. H. GALLAUDET and HORACE HOOKER. Hartford: Belknap & Hamersley. 12mo. pp. 166.

IN the systems that prevail wherever the English language is taught, the Spelling-book, under that name or some other, lies almost universally at the threshold. Whoever, therefore, makes important improvements in the spelling-book, should be considered a public benefactor. He saves a portion of the life of every individual, to whom the advantage of the improvements is extended. He may do much more; he may not only shorten, but render pleasanter, the path that leads to intellectual life. He may convert a mechanical and wearisome task to a profitable and interesting exercise.

So much of the future intelligence and mental activity of every individual depends upon the first steps he takes, upon the habits he is at the outset led to form, that it would seem to be a work worthy of the best minds in the community, to prepare the elementary books for children. A hasty examination

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of almost any of the numerous spelling-books in use is sufficient to show that very little of either learning or intelligence has usually gone to their composition. The title-page and every other page satisfactorily show that this has not been the case with "the Practical Spelling-Book."

It contains great and important improvements. It is evidently formed, not from previous books of the same name, but from an examination of the whole language.

It is made up of the words in common use, and omits all others, unless there be something remarkable in their orthography or pronunciation.

It contains the roots of the language, while it omits most of the derivatives which would only encumber its pages.

The words are arranged on a philosophical principle, according to the sounds of the letters in the important or difficult syllable; thus aiding the memory, by placing in juxtaposition and contrast the various combinations of letters by which the same sound is expressed.

It contains excellent directions to teachers. These are of great value, and will continue so until all our schools shall be supplied with well-trained teachers.

It has an index, whereby are shown at a glance the lessons containing the words into which enter the various sounds of the various letters and combinations.

It is thus a great advance beyond all the books of this kind that it has been our fortune to examine, though we confess we have not examined all that are in use. We think it should be in the hands of every teacher. It contains a better arrangement of the sounds of the letters and of the anomalies, than, so far as we know, is to be found in the same compass elsewhere.

Still it is not immaculate. To say nothing of errors of the press, of which there should be none in books for children and teachers, many of whom may not have the means of correcting them, we object to teaching children that the vowel in *word* and *world* has the same sound as it has in *son*, or that the same is to be given in *hoop* and *root* as in *bush;* we object to allowing people to say *brĭch*, *lĕzhur*, *fĕrs*, or *pĕrs*, and flatter themselves that they are pronouncing correctly. After giving a very restricted pronunciation of the words, the authors say, — "some pronounce *mā'tron*, *pā'tron*." Is it fair and respectful to call the great majority of all educated persons who speak the English language, — *some* people?

These are things of minor consequence, since they regard single words only. There are others, however, in regard to which we would lift up our voice if it would be of any avail. We are sorry to see mere Americanisms in pronunciation sanctioned by such authority as accompanies this book. We are

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sorry to see the vowel *a* in such words as *grant, branch, dance, disaster,* deprived of the delicate short sound which the well-educated English give it, and degraded to the sound of *a* in *bar.* There is no more infallible mark of a superior education than delicacy of pronunciation; and there is no class of words in which a correct ear more immediately detects vulgarity than in this. It is mortifying to think that the best educated scholar who shall learn to pronounce from this book, will, if he comes to travel in the mother country, be taxed at once with provincialism and vulgarity, for the coarse *ah* in *dance,* instead of the beautiful sound which alone English ears will acknowledge.

We have said that this little volume has probably no superior in its way. But is it not time that a better system of instruction should dispense with such books altogether? One of the authors, certainly, has some idea at least of a far more philosophical method. He probably knows, better than we can tell him, what a vast deal of time is spent to no purpose upon these nonsense columns. He must be familiar with the fact, that, as spelling has usually been taught, the most skilful oral spellers fail for the most part as soon as they are set to writing. He must have observed that the names of the letters have but a distant connexion with their sounds; that the spelling of words addresses itself only to the eye; and that occupying children for hours daily upon words only, arranged in columns in which they can have no meaning, has an obvious and almost necessary tendency to form habits of looking at words as mere sounds having no connexion with sense. He can hardly have failed himself to suspect that the listlessness often observed in children at school is owing to their habits of not using their understandings in study; habits, which it ought not to surprise us to find formed, when we have spent so many years in forming them. He is of course familiar with the *phonic* method of learning to read, which has been introduced with success on the continent of Europe, and he has himself suggested the mode of learning the letters from the words in which they occur, instead of learning them by themselves.

Who is more capable than he of carrying out these suggestions? Who could, better than he, introduce, in familiar and interesting stories, or in other suitable forms, all the words which are contained in this spelling-book, so that no word should be presented but as the representative of thought, and the unnatural divorce of sense and sound should henceforth be for ever forbidden? Such a work would be worthy of those, who have so successfully accomplished this which they have undertaken. A work fraught with such benefits to the understanding, would be richly worthy of the author of the beautiful "Child's Book of the Soul."

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10. — *Considérations sur le Principe Démocratique qui régit l'Union Américaine et de la Possibilité de son Application à d'autres Etats.* Par le Major G. T. Poussin, Auteur de plusieurs Ouvrages sur les Travaux Publics des Etats Unis et sur les Chemins de Fer de l'Angleterre et de la France. Paris. C. Gosselin. 1841. 8vo. pp. 311.
[Reflections upon the Democratic Principle which governs the American Union, and upon the Possibility of applying it to other States. By Major G. T. Poussin, Author of several Essays upon the Public Works in the United States, and upon the Railroads of England and France.]

This volume has just issued from the press in France. It is written by a gentleman well known in the United States, as he was for a long time engaged under General Bernard in the work of maturing a system of national defence for this country. We believe that the revolution of 1830 in France recalled him, as well as his principal, to his native country, and that he has since resided there. But he does not appear to have forgotten the effect of his residence among us. The present work contains the results of his observation of the effect of our political institutions upon our social organization. This observation, it ought to be remarked, was made under very favorable circumstances, and for a much longer period of time than is commonly employed by foreigners who take the trouble to write about the United States. And if we cannot always fully assent to the justness of his conclusions, we can very rarely refuse to admit the accuracy of the facts upon which they are founded.

The title of the book does not appear to us exactly to express its character. In the shape of a review of the several portions of the remarkable production of M. de Tocqueville, the author has taken the opportunity to throw out suggestions of his own, which his experience in the United States supplied to him. Thus it happens, that whilst he sustains and still more fully confirms the justice of most of the reflections made by his predecessor, he occasionally puts in such modifications and qualifications of some of them, as his long acquaintance with the country furnishes. Major Poussin appears to us much more democratic in his principles than M. de Tocqueville. He is consequently more inclined to see us *couleur de rose.* This will not probably make his book the less acceptable to our countrymen. We are not sure that we like it the better on that account. For, after all, the great merit of M. de Tocqueville consists in the singular justness of his analysis, and the impartiality with

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which he weighs in even scales the good and the bad consequences of our form of Government.

There are cases in which a perfect stranger is more likely to be just in his judgment of facts presented to his observation, than a resident of long standing in a country. For his mind is open to natural impressions, the effect of which has not been weakened by becoming habituated to certain established prejudices of the community of which he for the time makes a part. There are, on the other hand, cases, in which a counterbalancing advantage is enjoyed by the long resident, through the opportunity which he obtains by the passage of time to correct notions hastily assumed in the outset, and superficially drawn from partial observation. We think cases of both kinds can be seen in the present volume ; and that much of the opposition of opinion that appears between M. de Tocqueville and his reviewer, may be traced to the different points from which they view our institutions, without very much invalidating the judgment of either.

M. de Tocqueville is the first European who has taken the pains to apply the principles of philosophical analysis to the phenomena presented by the social system of the United States. The results of his labor constitute, as we sincerely think, the most remarkable book of the age. Most particularly valuable are they to the citizens of America, on account of the liberal yet just spirit in which they are drawn up. The mirror which he presents does not flatter like those which are made at home, neither does it distort nor pervert in the manner practised in England. M. de Tocqueville may have erred now and then in his inferences, and he may sometimes have been too much influenced in his judgment by the source from which he happened to draw portions of his information ; but after all he is generally right, and always sincere. The love of system, a fault so common with his countrymen, has not misled him, or at all confused the accuracy of his moral perception.

But it is impossible for us, within the limits of a brief notice, to go into any examination of the various particulars, in which the author deems it proper to correct the judgment of M. de Tocqueville. We can only advert to the most remarkable ones. For example, Major Poussin is of opinion that there is no cause whatsoever for the apprehension, entertained by his predecessor, for the safety of the United States, from the increase of the black race. He thinks the end of it will be the establishment of that race by itself upon a remote and separate territory. We are at a loss to perceive the precise grounds upon which such an opinion is founded. It is very true that there are some facts made evident by the returns of the census

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of 1840, which are at first sight calculated somewhat to surprise the public. We allude more particularly to the diminution in the ratio of increase on the part of the colored population within the last ten years, compared with that of the ten years immediately preceding. But we have not yet in a proper and authentic shape the full returns of the late census, upon which to base any accurate judgment of their effect upon this question ; nor, if we had, do we understand how they could be made to support the hypothesis of Major Poussin. One fact, and one only, is in his favor ; and that is, the indisputable predominance of increase in the Free States, as compared with that of the Slave States of the Union. This does go far, to be sure, to dispel anxiety respecting the power of the black race, but it does not remove the obstacles in the way of any disposition ultimately to be made of it, like the one suggested by our author. Time alone can settle the question, and to time we are perfectly content to leave it, without hazarding any opinion of our own.

Major Poussin considers M. de Tocqueville in error, when expressing the opinion, — not very uncommon among us in the more wealthy classes of society, where he probably picked it up, — that it is the tendency of our institutions to drive the highest order of talents out of political life, and that it takes refuge in the pursuit of property. We also regard this to be an error, although not entirely without color of reason in its defence. It is the tendency of our popular system to deter the best educated and the most honestly disposed class of citizens from participating in the management of public affairs. But the effect which it must necessarily have in bringing into view the greatest talents existing in the great mass of the people, is too obvious to need enlarging upon. "Democracy," says Mr. Mitford, somewhere in his history, "though a wretched regulator, is a powerful spring." The remark has undoubtedly much truth. And, however great may be the checks which have been applied to it by our tripartite theory of government, in order to supply the regulator, it can hardly be doubted, that the spring was left as powerful as ever. We nowhere see, in the United States, any want of ability on the part of those selected by the people as their representatives, although we may seldom meet with that combination of moral, intellectual, and political superiority, the result of nature, education, and practice of public affairs, without which there never can be any thing very durable in the reputation of a statesman.

There are some other differences of opinion between M. de Tocqueville and his reviewer, which we must touch upon very briefly. We incline to side with the first in those appre-

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hensions expressed by him of danger from the omnipotence of the majority, which his critic holds to be ill-founded. But we cannot stop to give our reasons to sustain the opinion. On the other hand, we think Major Poussin right in affirming, that the effect of our system of government is *not* to isolate mankind, as M. de Tocqueville would infer, but rather to strengthen those ties which bind men together in a common bond of society at the expense of the relations of family. We do not believe with the author, that our system of government is very well calculated for a period of convulsion, and to stand the perils of war, nor yet that President Jackson was a good exponent of Constitutional doctrine. But these are matters which it is impossible yet to decide. All that we can tell is, that the two parties, which have always divided the people of the Union, radically *differ in opinion as to the degree of energy* necessary to be conceded to the governing power, and that experience can alone test the soundness of their doctrines, by the proportion of success they will respectively attain in the application of their principles to practice, when they are intrusted with the management of public affairs.

When M. de Tocqueville ventured the opinion, that democracy tended to resolve man into selfishness, it seems as if he had voluntarily overlooked all the lessons of antiquity, as well as the history of the present day. If there is one thing more perceptible than another, under a system of perfect equality of right, it is the voluntary submission of the mass to the service of idols of their own creation. Was it not so in Greece with Pericles, and Cleon, and Demosthenes? Was it not so in Rome with Pompey and Cæsar, with the Gracchi, and Clodius, and Milo, and Catiline? In all these instances the democracy cheerfully allowed itself to be made the sport of the contending passions of their ambitious and aspiring leaders. The same tendency has always been visible in the United States. The rallying cry of every political party is a name; and Washington, Jefferson, Jackson, and Harrison have, each in his turn, been the individuals to whom a great majority of the nation have bowed as the oracle of truth. Sensible men may mourn, and independent ones may grieve at the want of discrimination in the popular mind, that is thus perpetually exposing itself; but the fact remains confirmed by the history of ages. If there is one tendency in a democracy more marked than another, it is towards the formation of parties, under the lead, and for the support, of some acknowledged chief. The corrective most to be relied upon is, that the same species of superiority which rallies them in defence of some, commonly furnishes the occasion for a corresponding amount of opposition on the part of

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others, and thus the natural effect of contention is to neutralize the power of all parties. There has never been a really great man in America, whose career has not been marked with constant and steady resistance. It is the conservative principle of the social system, which, as it betrayed itself long ago in a small democracy by the singular law of ostracism, so it does in a large one at this day by the conflict of personal parties. We may regret that the means are so unpleasant, by which we keep society steady ; we may fear the extremes, to which we may sometimes be suddenly brought by the violence they occasion ; but, after all, the equal movement of our system must be allowed to be maintained by it. And so long as the equality of men's natural rights continues in open contradiction to the inequality of men's natural gifts, just so long do we believe that the only method of keeping the waters of a democratic ocean tolerably clear, is, to have them agitated. But this system, so far from isolating man, as M. de Tocqueville would have us believe, throws him into the closest of all, that is, a party combination.

But we cannot follow our author into all the very interesting questions which he opens by differing from his predecessor. It will be sufficient for our present purpose, to recommend his work to the favorable attention of the American public. We understand that a translation is in progress. We would recommend that particular attention be paid to the rectification of the errors in the original, which are so evidently typographical that we do not think it necessary to specify them. They are to be found mostly in the figures used as dates and statistics.

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11. — *Writings of* Charles Sprague, *now first collected.* New York : Charles S. Francis. 1841. 12mo. pp. lviii. and 124.

A collection of Mr. Sprague's poems cannot fail to be welcomed by all readers of taste. In some respects they are very remarkable productions. They are highly finished, at a time when a majority of writers cast aside all the old fashioned principles of elegant composition. Their style is formed upon the best English models of an age, when the regularity of classical writing was much more highly appreciated than it is now. The thought is always clear and definite ; a marked contrast with the cloudiness that envelopes a large part of the literature of the day. It is rational, well meditated, and temperate; and this, too, is a happy contrast to the extravagance, and theatrical study for effect, which characterize the most popular of

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the recent writers. They show a calm and observing mind; fineness of sentiment and feeling; a ready perception of the vices and follies of mankind; and at the same time a tolerating spirit, which visits them with good-humored satire, rather than the awful severity of the judge. Mr. Sprague's poetical genius passes with ease and grace from the grave to the gay; from the didactic to the humorous; from earnest delineations of passion and suffering, to sportive pictures of fashionable folly, vanity, and frivolity. The lyrical element enters largely into the formation of his poetical character; some of his shorter pieces compare well with the best things of their kind in the language. Most of the peculiar qualities of his genius are happily illustrated by the first and longest piece in the collection, the Phi Beta Kappa poem on "Curiosity." This opens by a passage ingeniously contrived to excite the very feeling which was to be the subject of the poem; and the effect upon the audience when the verses were recited we well remember to have been extraordinary The various modes in which this, the master passion of human nature, manifests itself, are beautifully described in a series of pictures drawn with admirable skill. A great deal of playful satire enters into the material of the poem; fine turns of wit enliven it from time to time; and here and there a touch of pathos harmonizes it to a proper tone. The versification is highly polished, and the poet happily selected the good old-fashioned heroic couplet; the only measure in which a poem designed to be spoken should ever be written. It flows on in a stream of harmonious beauty; and not without the epigrammatic point, for which the English couplet is excellently adapted, and the last perfection of which it acquired in the hands of Pope. Wit, humor, pathos, and epigram are all subjected, in this fine poem, to a moral purpose; immorality, impiety, and blasphemy, are held up to execration with all the force of the poet's genius. Falsehood and calumny, fraud and avarice, are painted with the colors borrowed from the artist's moral wrath. The spirit of evil which walks up and down and to and fro to destroy, in the shape of the bigot and the religious quack, — the atheist and the "unsexed thing that scorns her God," — is pointed out to the indignation and contempt of man. We should be glad to quote many of the noble passages in illustration of our remarks, but they are familiar to most of our readers. They are excellent examples of the true, vigorous, and polished expression of the thoughts, feelings, and convictions of a poetical mind, and a heart morally sound to the core.

The Shakspeare Ode is a noble lyric, devoted, as its title implies, to celebrating the genius of the "myriad-minded" Shakspeare. We are reminded, while reading this Ode, of the

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best lyrics in the English language, the Odes of Gray. Not that Mr. Sprague has borrowed any thing from his English predecessor, but the similarity of the subject to that of some parts of the "Progress of Poesy," and a kindred loftiness of language, recall the magnificent stanzas of that writer. Mr. Sprague's language is not, of course, so compressed nor so gorgeously inwrought with the golden embroidery of classical allusion as Gray's; but he shows the same skill in personifying the passions, and thus exalting the genius of Shakspeare, by making the mighty elements of the soul of man come and bow themselves submissively to their great master's will. The leading characters in the Shakspearean dramas appear in this grand ode, in slow procession, conjured up by one who has felt them in all their awful sublimity. The high-wrought poetical cast of the language by which they are presented to us, is worthy of the exalted theme.

Some of the shorter pieces, expressive of the domestic affections, are exquisitely tender. Nothing can surpass the sweetness of "I see thee still," or the delicacy of the lines beginning

> "O! it is life! departed days
> Fling back their brightness while I gaze."

The "Winged Worshippers" is a charming little poem, upon a trifling but pleasant incident, — two swallows flying into church during divine service. The language is very elegant, and the incident finely moralized. We believe this poem has been oftener quoted than any other of Mr. Sprague's writings. It is one of those rare things that people never forget. It is printed in all selections of poetry, elegant extracts and the like; it is committed to memory in the schools; and about once in three years it goes the round of all the newspapers.*

The Prize pieces and prologues are very finished productions; but being designed for occasions of merely temporary interest, are not likely to be much read after the occasions are forgotten. The two prose discourses, with which the volume closes, by no means equal, in their way, the poems. They are

* The third stanza in this elegant poem is as follows:

> "Ye never knew
> The crimes for which we come to weep;
> Penance is not for you
> Blessed wanderers of the *upper deep*."

The expression in italics reminds us of a similar poetical turn in Euripides;

> "Δεῖ γάρ νιν ἤτοι γῆς σφε κρυφθῆναι κάτω,
> Ἢ πτηνὸν ἄρασ' σῶμ' ἐσ αἰθέρος ἑάδους."
> "For she must either hide beneath the earth,
> Or soar on wings into the *ethereal deep*." — *Med.* 1294 - 5.

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far from being good specimens of English style. They are deficient in simplicity and directness of expression; they are altogether too ornate for good taste, presenting in this respect a singular contrast to the poems, the chasteness of which is one of their greatest charms. The only thing to be regretted with regard to this volume is, that the poet did not choose to make it for himself, and confine it to a selection of his best poetical pieces. We hope the cares of business will yet allow him to do this, and that we shall be favored in future with more notes under his signature, whether poetical or otherwise, than we have ever had the good fortune to receive in times past.

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12. — *The Position and Duties of the Educated Men of the Country. A Discourse pronounced before the Euglossian and Alpha Phi Delta Societies of Geneva College, August 5th,* 1840: By C. S. Henry, D. D., Professor of Intellectual Philosophy and Belles Lettres in the University of the City of New York. New York: Robert Craighead. 8vo. pp. 46.

Professor Henry is a vigorous and cultivated writer. His papers in the "New York Review" show uncommon powers of style, thought, and illustration. His acquirements in various branches of literature, especially in philosophy, are distinguished. From time to time he has been called upon to deliver anniversary discourses before the literary societies which form a remarkable feature in the public institutions of the United States. These discourses have shown abilities of a high order; and though we are far from agreeing with Mr. Henry's opinions on many points, we cannot help admiring his unquenchable love of good letters, the bold eloquence with which he advocates their cause, and the frankness with which he utters sentiments that he honestly cherishes, however at variance with the popular tendencies of the times. He always advocates high and generous views of the worth of moral and intellectual culture, and points to an ideal standard for the rising minds of the country to aspire to. But he is too alive to the evil tendencies of the times, and, as it seems to us, fails to discern the blessed promises that gleam out from the clouds, of a better and a brighter future. He takes too dark a view of that disregard of ancient forms, which marks the proceedings of the present generation; and places too much stress upon the efforts he would have us make to rekindle a reverence for them, as a means of spiritual improvement. He not only looks to the church for aid in the moral regeneration of mankind, but

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would reunite the broken bands by which education and the church in past times have been held together.

Excepting that we do not agree with many of Mr. Henry's disparaging views of the working of our institutions, we cordially approve of his discourse. It is written throughout in a spirited and scholarlike style, and some passages are wrought up to a high pitch of eloquence and beauty.

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13. — *The Lowell Offering; a Repository of Original Articles, written by Females employed in the Mills.* Lowell: A. Watson. Numbers 1, 2, and 3. 4to. pp. 1 – 48.

In an article on "The Cotton Manufacture," in the last Number of this Journal, we took occasion to speak of the intelligence and general respectability of the factory operatives at the new city of Lowell. We little expected so soon to see such evidence of their cultivation of mind, as what is now before us. A literary periodical from a cotton-mill is a new thing under the sun. One might think that a factory, with its eternal and confounding whirl and clatter, would be the last place on earth which the Castalian maids would choose to haunt. But here they have been, past doubt, and have left the authentic print of their step.

The "Lowell Offering," it appears, had its origin in a *réunion* of factory girls, who were accustomed to enliven, and turn to profit, their social meetings, by communicating to one another their compositions in prose and verse. Two clergymen, who were in the habit of attending these meetings, suggested a publication of some of the pieces thus contributed, in order "to encourage the cultivation of talent, to preserve articles worthy of preservation, and to correct an erroneous idea which generally prevails in relation to the intelligence of persons employed in the mills." We are not surprised to be told, that the success of the work has far exceeded the modest expectations of its projectors. Of the first Number, we learn that an edition of three thousand copies has been disposed of, and a second edition of two thousand copies has just been issued from the press.

The papers in the three Numbers before us are wholly the production of female operatives in the Lowell mills. Their merit will astonish and mistify all readers, whose notions of a manufacturing population are drawn from descriptions of the manufacturing towns abroad; and especially will it be a sore perplexity and cross (while it should rather be a provocative to a generous literary emulation) to those ingenious gentlemen,

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who, in Congress and elsewhere, have been used to speak so intelligently of the "white slaves" of the North. Of course, it is less matter of surprise to us, who have been aware that many of these young women have that sort of taste, which leads them, when their day's work is done, to take lessons in French and music, and that they are mostly the well-educated daughters of substantial New England farmers, attracted to the factories by the prospect of earning more money than other occupations afford the promise of, and securing an honorable independence for the present, or making provision for a future home.

Yet we confess we were not entirely prepared for the evidence of taste, talent, and acquisition, on the part of their fair authors, which these writings exhibit. They are by no means compositions of that class which young ladies are prone to record in each other's albums, or boarding-school misses to hand in for the quarterly prize. While the whole collection is pervaded by a tone of sound and healthy feeling, many of its pieces show a maturity of thought, and a familiarity with the literature of the present day and other days, such as satisfy the reader at once, that if he has only taken it up as a phenomenon, and not as what can bear criticism and reward perusal, he has but to own his error and dismiss his condescension, as soon as may be. Among the prose articles, the "History of a Hemlock Broom," and the "Dialogue between Mr. Spruce and Mr. Birch," are pieces which would not seem out of place in a collection of the writings of Jane Taylor; and the "Recollections of an Old Maid," are charming sketches of still human life, which Miss Mitford's self would not need to blush to own. In a different style is an article occasioned by a calumny said to have been vented by Mr. Orestes A. Brownson. It seems that, among other inane and insane things with which that gentleman has treated the public, he has lately ventured to indite the exquisite absurdity; "*She has worked in a factory* is sufficient to damn to infamy the most worthy and virtuous girl." He reckoned without his host. The "Lowell Offering" will, we fancy, make him more careful for the future how he deals with the characters of the thousands of his respectable young countrywomen engaged in this employment. He sees, by this time, — if he does not, others do, — that there are some among them whose literary skill would do no discredit to his own spirited pen, while their right tone of sentiment, moral elevation, and generous and Christian feeling are out of reach of a comparison with the demagogic rhapsodies, with which, — to judge from occasional specimens that come in our way, — his readers are wont to be edified. If he does not find himself, in this instance, pursued by the Furies, like his namesake of old, or, like the

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rash Lycurgus, torn in pieces by the Mænades, he has taken a lesson, of a kind likely to be remembered, as to what a sensible and right-minded woman can do, when an unmanly assault provokes it. The piece is as good in point of logic and style, as of spirit and temper.

Of the poetical compositions, the following may serve as an agreeable specimen, though there are others well executed in a more ambitious strain.

"NO.

"THEY say it is too hard a word
For coward lips to speak;
They tell us it is seldom heard
Where moral power is weak.
'Tis but two letters though, at most,
Two harmless creatures, N & O;
And sure he has no need to boast,
Whatever of applause is lost,
If nought of principle it cost,
And truth and duty tell him so,
Who cannot promptly answer, NO.

"But that it is too hard sometimes,
Its simple power to try,
Bear witness all ye ills and crimes
That stain humanity,—
Too hard! and would *that* told it all;
But nay, it is too *easy* too!
When suffering and sorrow call,
It echoes from the rich man's hall,—
The sighs that rise, the tears that fall
From virtue's lids, too plainly show,
How easy selfishness says, NO.

"I've seen upon the orphan's cheek
The eloquence of grief,
Betokening more than words can speak,
And pleading for relief.
That look was changed to wild despair,
And hope's last vestige sold to woe;
Nought but keen anguish lingered where
One ray had mingled with her care;
For the dark frown which met her there,
Forbade the soothing tear to flow,
And said, in direful accents, NO.

"I've heard the voice of love
Soft sighing on the breeze,
And gentle as the timid dove,
Each tone was framed to please.
It sought the wanderer's feet to lure
Where once it fondly loved to go;
It talked of pleasures that endure,—

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Ennobling, lofty, simple, pure,
And fain the tempted soul would cure;
But its rich music sunk in wo,
When sullen hatred muttered, NO.

"I've felt the movings of a Hand
That touched to win the soul,—
I wonder how I could withstand
So meek, so mild control.
The Hand that led my early feet
Through fields where streams of mercy flow;
The Hand that made my life replete
With joy, and hope, and blessings sweet;
'T would lead me to a safe retreat,
An humble vale, a heaven below,—
But my proud spirit answered, NO.

"That Hand of love, unwearied still
By such ingratitude,
Has been my guide through good and ill,
And daily life renewed.
And now I can but love that Hand,
My strength to conquer every foe,
My life and shield; and I may stand
On the sure rock of his command,
Despite the passions' lawless band,—
When tempted from my rock to go,
Its length and breadth shall echo, NO.

"In that one word is magic power,
As little as it is;
It would have guarded Eden's bower,
And cherished man in bliss;
It would have thwarted many a plan,
Deep-laid, for deadly overthrow.
Decision oft has rescued man
From snares himself could hardly scan;
And often since the world began,
Hath peace, like a pure fountain's flow,
Accompanied the steadfast NO.

"Then let me wield the weapon well,
And make its power my own
Nor fear for what the world may tell,
Though I shall stand alone,
But that same word, when out of place,
Has been to worth the overthrow,—
Then let me with a soothing YES,
My warmest sympathy express,
The tear from sorrow's eyelids chase,—
For where kind words of love shall flow,
Why should these lips speak cruel NO?

"ADELAIDE."
—No. III. p. 38.

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QUARTERLY LIST OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

AGRICULTURE.

The American Swine Breeder, a Practical Treatise on the Selection, Rearing, and Fattening of Swine. By Henry W. Ellsworth. Philadelphia: Hogan & Thompson. 16mo. pp. 304.

Agricultural Addresses, delivered at New Haven, Norwich, and Hartford, Connecticut, at the County Cattle Shows, in the year 1840. By Henry Colman, Commissioner of the Agricultural Survey of Massachusetts. Published by request of the three Societies. Boston: Dutton & Wentworth. 8vo. pp. 72.

BIOGRAPHY AND MEMOIRS.

Memoir of Nathaniel Bowditch. Prepared for the Young. Printed for the Warren Street Chapel. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 12mo. pp. 158.

Sketches of Conspicuous Living Characters of France. Translated by R. M. Walsh. Philadelphia: Lee & Blanchard. 12mo. pp. 332.

The Bland Papers; being a Selection from the Manuscripts of Colonel Theodorick Bland, Jr., of Prince George County, Virginia; to which are prefixed an Introduction, and a Memoir of Colonel Bland. Edited by Charles Campbell. Petersburg, (Va.): Edmund and Julian C. Ruffin. pp. 160.

The Life of De Witt Clinton. By James Renwick, LL. D., Professor of Natural and Experimental Philosophy and Chemistry in Columbia College. New York: Harper & Brothers. 8vo. pp. 334.

The Life of Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry. By Alexander Slidell Mackenzie, U. S. N. New York: Harper & Brothers. 2 vols. 18mo. pp. 322 and 270.

EDUCATION.

The Artist's Guide and Mechanic's own Book, embracing the Portion of Chemistry applicable to the Mechanic Arts, with Abstracts of Electricity, Galvanism, Magnetism, Pneumatics, Optics, Astronomy, and Mechanical Philosophy; also, Mechanical Exercises in Iron, Steel, Lead, Zinc, Copper, and Tin soldering; and a Variety of Useful Receipts, extending to every Profession and Occupation of Life, particularly Dyeing, Silk, Woolen, Cotton, and Leather. By James Pilkington. New York: Alexander V. Blake. 12mo. pp. 482.

A Critical Grammar of the Hebrew Language. By Isaac Nordheimer, Phil. Doct., Professor of Arabic and other Oriental Languages in the University of the City of New York. In Two Volumes. Vol. II. New York: Wiley & Putnam. 8vo. pp. xix. 360.

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An Elementary Treatise on Algebra, in Theory and Practice, with Attempts to simplify some of the more Difficult Parts of that Science, particularly the Solution of Cubic Equations and the Higher Orders; with Notes and Illustrations, containing a Variety of Particulars relating to the Discoveries and Improvements that have been made in this Branch of Analysis, and, it is believed, more New and Entertaining Questions and Solutions than can be found in any other Work on the Same Subject. To which is added an Appendix, on the Application of Algebra to Geometry. By John D. Williams, Author of "A Key to Hutton's Mathematics, containing the Questions and their Solutions"; "Arithmetical and Algebraical Amusements," "Arithmetic and Key," &c. Boston: Hilliard, Gray, & Co. 12mo. pp. 605.

The title-page of this treatise may serve students for a good long morning's first lesson. We have not sufficiently recovered from the exhaustion of reading it, to feel equal to any examination of the following pages. We observe, however, that the Preface declares, that "volumes have been written on the elegance and importance of this study"; — which is very likely, though it has not been our hap to meet with their titles in any catalogue; and that it commemorates successful votaries of the science, who "have gained for themselves an immortality that shall endure till time shall be no longer," — an immortality of that uncommon kind which may well excite a peculiar ambition.

HISTORY.

The History of Rowley, anciently including Bradford, Boxford, and Georgetown, from the year 1630 to the present time. By Thomas Gage. With an Address, delivered September 5th, 1839, at the Celebration of the Second Centennial Anniversary of its Settlement. By the Rev. James Bradford. Boston: Ferdinand Andrews. 12mo. pp. 484.

An Offering to Churchmen; or a few Historical Hints connected with the Origin and Compilation of the Prayer Book, with Notes and an Appendix, containing various Documents connected with our Liturgy. By W. H. Odenheimer, A. M., Rector of St. Peter's Church. Philadelphia: R. S. H. George. 48mo. pp. 166.

JUVENILE BOOKS.

The Poetry of Woman. By the Author of "The Palfreys"; "Ellen Clifford," &c. Boston: A. Tompkins & B. B. Mussey. 18mo. pp. 180.

Blind Alice; or, Do Right, if you wish to be Happy. By a Lady. New York: Gould, Newman, & Saxton. 18mo. pp. 101.

Interesting Stories, chiefly in Illustration of Providence. From the German of Schmid. Translated from the latest French Edition by the Author of "The Factory Boy." Boston: D. S. King. 18mo. pp. 154.

The Pathway of the Saviour; designed for Sunday School Libraries and Bible Classes. By a Friend of Children. Boston: Benjamin H. Greene. 18mo. pp. 155.

The Faded Flower; or, History of Charles P. By the Author of "Samuel in the Temple." Boston: Massachusetts Sabbath School Society. 18mo. pp. 50.

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Mary Somers, a Narrative from Real Life. Boston: Massachusetts Sabbath School Society. 18mo. pp. 54.

Conrad; or, a Time to Die. Boston: Massachusetts Sabbath School Society. 18mo. pp. 54.

Thoughts for Little Children. Boston: Massachusetts Sabbath School Society. 32mo. pp. 96.

Samuel in the Temple. Boston: Massachusetts Sabbath School Society. 18mo. pp. 36.

Conversations about the Babe of Bethlehem. Boston: Massachusetts Sabbath School Society. 18mo. pp. 72.

The Young Forester. A Narrative of the Early Life of a Christian Missionary. 18mo. pp. 94.

LAW.

Sketches of the Judicial History of Massachusetts from 1630 to the Revolution in 1775. By Emery Washburn. Boston: Charles C. Little & James Brown. 8vo. pp. 407.

Commentaries on the Conflict of Laws, Foreign and Domestic, in Regard to Contracts, Rights, and Remedies, and especially in Regard to Marriages, Divorces, Wills, Successions, and Judgments. By Joseph Story, LL. D., Dane Professor of Law in Harvard University. Second Edition. Revised, corrected, and greatly enlarged. Boston: Charles C. Little & James Brown. 8vo. pp. 559.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The New World or Mechanical System, to perform the Labors of Man and Beast by Inanimate Powers, that cost nothing, for producing and preparing the Substances of Life. With Plates. By J. A. Etzler. As a Sequel of his "Paradise." Philadelphia: C. F. Stollmeyer. 8vo. pp. 75.

The Women of England, their Social Duties, and Domestic Habits. By Mrs. Ellis (late Sarah Stickney), Author of "The Poetry of Life," "Pictures of Private Life," &c., &c. Philadelphia: Herman Hooker. 12mo. pp. 239.

A Green Hand's First Cruise, roughed out from the Log-Book of Memory of Twenty-five Years' Standing; together with a Residence of Five Months in Dartmoor. By a Younker. Boston: Otis, Broaders, & Co. 2 vols. 12mo. pp. 278 and 329.

The Eccentric Preacher; or a Sketch of the Life of the celebrated Lorenzo Dow, abridged from his Journal, and containing the most Interesting Facts in his Experience; also, an abridgment of his celebrated Chain! and of his curious Thoughts on Matrimony! Lowell: E. A. Rice & Co. 16mo. pp. 204.

Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, August, September, and October, 1840.

Viator; or a Peep into my Note-Book. By the Author of a "Grumbler's Miscellaneous Thoughts," &c. Boston: Charles C. Little & James Brown. 12mo. pp. 355.

Remarks on the Nature and Probable Effects of introducing the Voluntary System in the Studies of Latin and Greek, proposed in certain Resolutions of the President and Fellows of Harvard University, now under the Consideration of its Board of Overseers, and also

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on the Present State of the Latin Department in that Institution. By Josiah Quincy, President of the University. Cambridge: John Owen. 8vo. pp. 29.

Miscellaneous Thoughts on Men, Manners, and Things. By Anthony Grumbler, of Grumbleton Hall, Esquire. Boston: Charles C. Little & James Brown. 12mo. pp. 365.

Register of the Commissioned and Warrant Officers of the Navy of the United States, including Officers of the Marine Corps for the year 1841. Printed by Order of the Secretary of the Navy, in Compliance with a Resolution of the Senate of the United States, of December 13, 1815. Washington: Jacob Gideon, Jr. 12mo. pp. 72.

Official Army Register for 1841. Printed by Order of the Secretary of War, in Compliance with a Resolution of the Senate of the United States, of December 13, 1815. Adjutant General's Office, Washington, January, 1841. 12mo.

Old Humphrey's Observations. New York: Robert Carter. 12mo. pp. 258.

The Envoy. From Free Hearts to the Free. Pawtucket, R. I. Published by the Juvenile Emancipation Society. 18mo. pp. 112.

Correspondence between Oliver Johnson and George F. White, a Minister of the Society of Friends, with an Appendix. New York: Oliver Johnson. 12mo. pp. 48.

Browne's Banking and Mercantile Tables. New York: George F. Nesbett.

A Genealogical Register of the Descendants, in the Male Line, of Robert Day, of Hartford, Connecticut, who died in the year 1648. New Haven: William Storrer, Jr. 8vo. pp. 44.

Famous Old People; being the Second Epoch of Grandfather's Chair. By Nathaniel Hawthorne, Author of "Twice Told Tales." Boston: E. P. Peabody. 32mo. pp. 158.

A Vindication of Classical Studies. By Charles H. Lyon, A. M., one of the Principals of the Irving Institute. New York: H. & S. Raynor. 12mo. pp. 48.

The Rhode Island Book; Selections in Prose and Verse, from the Writings of Rhode Island Citizens. By Anne C. Lynch. Providence: H. Fuller. 12mo. pp. 352.

Accident has prevented our taking up this attractive volume in season to give any account of it in the present Number. It strikes us, on a glance at the contents, as one of the most agreeable compilations of its very popular class, which have been brought before the public.

MUSIC.

The Boston School Song Book. Published under the Sanction of the Boston Academy of Music. Original and Selected. By Lowell Mason. Boston: J. H. Wilkins & R. B. Carter.

The Southern Harp; consisting of Original, Sacred, and Moral Songs, adapted to the most Popular Melodies, for the Piano-forte and Guitar. By Mrs. Mary S. B. Dana. Boston: Parker & Ditson. 4to. pp. 99.

NEW PERIODICALS.

Arcturus, a Journal of Books and Opinion. New York: Benjamin G. Trevett. Monthly. 8vo. $ 5·00 per annum.

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The Mother's Assistant and Young Ladies' Friend. William C. Brown, Editor. Monthly. 8vo. Each No. to contain 32 pages. $ 1·00 per annum.

Merry's Museum. Monthly. Boston: Bradbury & Soden.

Roberts' Semi-Monthly Magazine, for Town and Country. Published on the 1st and 15th of every Month, and containing forty large octavo pages. Boston: George Roberts.

NOVELS, TALES, AND ROMANCES.

Constance, or the Merchant's Daughter. A Tale of our Times. New York: Gould, Newman, & Saxton. 18mo. pp. 160.

The Kinsmen; or, the Black Riders of Congaree. A Tale. By the Author of the "Partisan," "Mellichampe," "Guy Rivers," "The Yemassee," &c. Philadelphia: Lea & Blanchard. 12mo. 2 vols. pp. 241 and 275.

Barbara Howard, or the Belle of Allensville. A Tale. Boston: Sleeper, Dix, & Rogers. 16mo. pp. 106.

Annie O'Connel. A Temperance Tale. Boston: Whipple & Damrell. 32mo.

ORATIONS AND ADDRESSES.

An Address delivered in South Hadley, Massachusetts, July 30th, 1840, at the Third Anniversary of the Mount Holyoke Female Seminary. By Mark Hopkins, D. D. Published by request of the Trustees. Northampton: John Metcalf. 8vo. pp. 23.

A Tribute to the Memory of the Rev. Wilbur Fisk, D. D., President of the Wesleyan University, Middletown, Connecticut. By the Reverend Professor Whedon. New York. 8vo. pp. 23.

Discourse before the Students of La Fayette College, on the Study of Mathematics. By Washington M'Cartney, Esquire, Professor of Mathematics. Easton, (Penn.): Hetrick & Maxwell. 8vo. pp. 20.

Two Lectures; viz. Lecture on the Causes of the Decline of Political and National Morality, and Lecture on the Adaptation of the Universe to the Cultivation of the Mind. By Rowland G. Hazard, Author of "Language." Providence: H. Fuller. 8vo. pp. 29 and 48.

POETRY AND THE DRAMA.

Thoughts in Past Years. By the Author of "The Cathedral." New York: D. Appleton & Co. 12mo. pp. 400.

Sacred Melodies, or Hymns for Youth; with appropriate Selections from Scripture. New York: Wiley & Putnam. 12mo. pp. 111.

The plan of this little work is excellent; and its execution combines a profound religious feeling, and a good literary taste; — two things that do not go together as often as could be wished. The selections from the Bible are judicious, and the hymns, in which the thoughts conveyed in the Scriptural passages are repeated and enlarged upon, are marked by smoothness of versification, and a correct sense of the proprieties of language. They are well adapted by their simplicity to interest the feelings, and imprint themselves on the memories, of the young.

Poems. By Miss Charlotte Allen. Boston: Saxton & Pierce. 16mo. pp. 143.

The Scimeter. Containing well-tempered Reflections by the Sharpe Family. Boston: I. R. Butts. pp. 32.

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The Patapsco, and other Poems. By Charles Soran. Baltimore: N. Hickman. 8vo. pp. 104.

This volume shows a good deal of native vigor. We take it up for a few words of notice, because it certainly contains lines, and even whole stanzas, of uncommon merit. But Mr. Soran has not attained to a mastery over the instrument which he aspires to manage. He feels the force of language, and has thoughts which deserve fit expression; but he cannot use language happily for a long time together, and therefore cannot, except in short passages, give a suitable utterance to his thoughts. The use of language, especially of poetical language, is an art to be laboriously acquired like any other art. Fine writing has been well said to be the finest of all the fine arts. It does not, like Dogberry's reading and writing, come by nature. It is the result of the most secret and most subtle intellectual processes. In Mr. Soran's verses there are frequent instances, where the language becomes awkward, or breaks down, or fails to convey the image; and others, where the laws of metre are remorselessly violated; — all which is against the peace and dignity of the literary commonwealth.

In short, this handsome volume shows promising natural powers, with little culture; the language is often striking, but not seldom feeble and flat; the versification is sometimes harmonious and graceful, and then again harsh, irregular, and rough; the author has, therefore, much yet to do, before he will print a volume of poems that shall do full justice to his unquestionable abilities. We will not be so unfeeling as to make a separate point of the love verses, though of these there are too many of that kind, which are the common fruit of a *tender* age, and which one has to live but a little while, to feel uneasy that he has committed.

Mary Stuart, a Tragedy from the German of Schiller. By William Peter, A. M. Philadelphia: Henry Perkins. 12mo. pp. 255.

Mr. Peter has lately become known in the United States by an excellent translation of "William Tell." The present work is marked by the same excellences and defects as the former. The excellences are a general fidelity to the original, and a uniform purity of English style; the defects are occasional baldness, and a deficiency of poetical phraseology. The play in the original, though full of Schiller's splendid declamation, must be considered on the whole his least successful drama. It is altogether too long. The action lingers in a manner very trying to any but a German patience; and the dialogue at the conclusion, after Mary's final doom is known, is protracted to an agony. Nor do we think there is any very nice drawing of characters in this play. The English statesmen who were most concerned in the memorable event of Mary's execution, were among the most extraordinary men of the age; but they do not appear so in Schiller. They are all mere stalking tragedy figures, speaking in the same sounding Iambic measure, and making no very distinct impression on the mind. The Virgin Queen herself is a vague and shadowy monster, and her beautiful rival nothing but a plaintive phantom.

But there is a fine vein of lyric poetry running through this drama. The noble passage in which Mary gives utterance to her feelings on being released for a short time from her prison, just before her interview with Elizabeth, is in Schiller's best and highest mood. Mary's penitence for the sins of her youth is also a grand passage. The exalted character of Schiller is everywhere manifested in the sentiments of the drama; and whatever may be its unfitness for the stage, it must ever be read with a glow of pleasure for its many moving strains of eloquence, and sublime lyric poetry. The translation of such a work is a meritorious service to the cause of letters, and is very honorable to the taste and ability of Mr.

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Peter. The translation of the "Battle with the Dragon" is extremely well executed. The original is among the most spirited of Schiller's minor pieces; and the translation preserves, in a very good degree, the animation and fire of the German.

THEOLOGY AND SERMONS.

Two Sermons, preached at the Second Church in Boston; the one Thanksgiving Day, and the other November last; occasional to the Times. By Chandler Robbins. Boston: S. G. Simpkins. 12mo. pp. 30.

Sermons to Children. By F. W. P. Greenwood, D. D., Minister of King's Chapel. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 16mo. pp. 128.

A Sermon delivered before his Excellency Marcus Morton, Governor, his Honor George Hull, Lieutenant-Governor, the Honorable Council, and the Legislature of Massachusetts, at the Annual Election, January 6th, 1841. By David Damon, Pastor of the Congregational Church in West Cambridge. Boston: Dutton & Wentworth. 8vo. pp. 34.

A Discourse, delivered on a Special Occasion at Weymouth, South Parish, January 10th, 1841. By Wales Lewis, Pastor of the Church. Published by request. Boston: S. N. Dickinson. 8vo. pp. 28.

Christ the Head of the Church. A Sermon delivered at the Installation of the Rev. Edmund H. Sears, in Lancaster, Massachusetts, December 23d, 1840. By Henry Ware, Jr., Parkman Professor of Pulpit Eloquence and the Pastoral Care in Harvard University. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 8vo. pp. 36.

True Charity a Check to Pauperism. A Discourse delivered before the Howard Benevolent Society, at the Old South Church, January 24th, 1841. By the Rev. William Hague, Pastor of the Church in Federal Street. Boston: Gould, Kendall, & Lincoln. 72mo. pp. 72.

The New Birth. A Sermon preached at the Bulfinch Street Church, Sunday Morning, January 10th, 1841, by its Pastor, Frederick T. Gray. Boston: Samuel G. Simpkins. 12mo. pp. 16.

Pastoral Addresses. By John Angell James, Author of "Anxious Inquirer after Salvation," "Young Man from Home," "Christian Professor," &c. &c., with an Introduction by the Rev. William Adams. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 16mo. pp. 213.

Religion in its Relation to the Present Life; in a Series of Lectures, delivered before the Young Men's Association of Utica. By A. B. Johnson. New York: Harper & Brothers. 18mo. pp. 180.

Sermons on Public Worship suited to the Times. By Samuel Nott, Jr. Boston: Whipple & Damrell. 12mo. pp. 404.

Preëminence of Christianity. A Discourse delivered on Christmas Eve, December 24th, 1840. By the Rev. L. C. Browne. Nashua: Charles F. Gill. 8vo. pp. 24.

Sermons on various Subjects. By the Rev. E. H. Chapin. Boston: A. Tompkins. 18mo. pp. 216.

Socinianism Subversive of Christianity. A Sermon. By Samuel A. Van Vranken, Minister of the Gospel, and Pastor of the Reformed Dutch Church in Broome Street. New York: Robert Carter. 18mo. pp. 64.

An Examination of President Edwards' Inquiry on the Freedom of the Will. By Jeremiah Day, President of Yale College. New Haven: Durrie & Peck. 12mo. pp. 340.

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Travels of our Saviour, with some of the leading Incidents of his Life. By William A. Alcott. Boston: Massachusetts Sabbath School Society. pp. 311.

The New Idolatry. A Sermon, preached to the First Church, on Sunday, 22d November, 1840. By its Minister, N. L. Frothingham. Boston: J. T. Buckingham. 8vo. pp. 15.

Voices of the Dead. A Sermon preached before the Jamaica Plain Parish, Sunday Morning, December 20th, 1840. By its Junior Pastor, George Whitney. Boston: I. R. Butts. 8vo. pp. 16.

Reminiscences of the Best Hours of Life for the Hour of Death. From the German of Jean Paul Richter. Boston: Joseph Dowe. 16mo. pp. 52.

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A Dictionary of Correspondences, Representations, and Significatives, derived from the Word of the Lord. Extracted from the Writings of Emanuel Swedenborg. Boston: Otis Clapp. 8vo. pp. 431.

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Children taught about God. By the Rev. E. N. Kirk. New York: Gould, Newman, & Saxton. 32mo. pp. 64.

The Flying Roll; or, Free Grace Displayed. By F. W. Krummacher, D. D., Author of "Elisha the Tishbite." New York: M. W. Dodd. 12mo. pp. 296.

Christ our Example. By Caroline Fry, Author of "The Listener," "Scripture Reader's Guide," &c. Philadelphia: R. S. H. George. 12mo. pp. 318.

Jacob Wrestling with the Angel. By the Rev. G. D. Krummacher. Solomon and Shumalite. By F. W. Krummacher, D. D., Author of "Elisha the Tishbite." Translated from the German. New York: John S. Taylor. 12mo. pp. 288.

The Martyr Lamb, or Christ the Representative of his People in all Ages. Translated from the German of F. Krummacher, D. D., Author of "Elisha the Tishbite," "Elisha," "Dew of Israel," &c. New York: Robert Carter. 12mo. pp. 288.

Christian Love; or, the Duty of Personal Efforts for the Immediate Conversion of the Impenitent. New York: John S. Taylor. 72mo. pp. 96.

The Backslider. By Andrew Fuller, with an Introduction by the Rev. John Angell James. New York: John O. Taylor. 32mo. pp. 122.

Sacred Paths; or Life in Prospect of Immortality. Boston: Joseph Dowe. 18mo. pp. 218.

Think on these Things. A Sermon, delivered in the Unitarian Church, Newport, R. I., Sunday, February 28th, 1841. By Charles T. Brooks. Newport: James Atkinson. 16mo. pp. 16.

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